CANADA'S HISTORY MAGAZINE

The Beaver

AUGUST | SEPTEMBER 2001 $4.95

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The birth of the secret service

The Mystery of the Missing Hockey Star

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Washday:
The weekly ritual

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The Beaver

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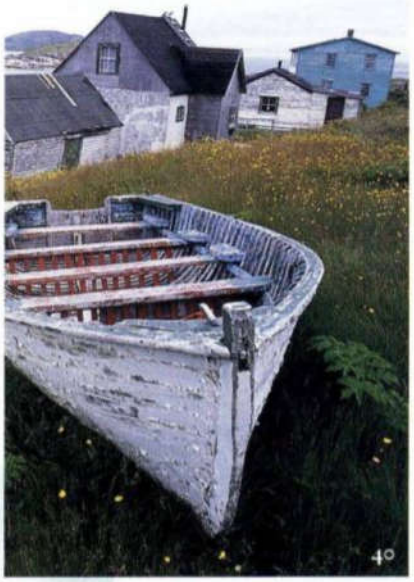

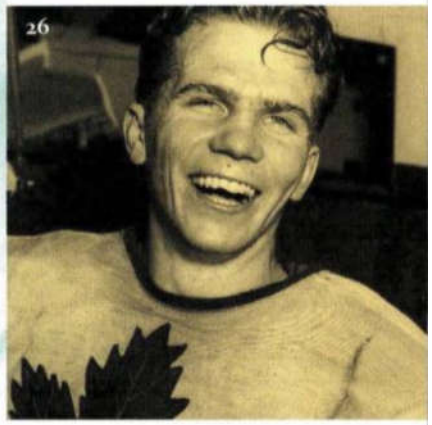

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On the cover: *Girl Ironing*, detail, by Kenneth Forbes, 1924. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; R.C.A.A. diploma work, deposited by the artist, Toronto, 1934.

Letters

A giant of Red River

"Scandal at Red River" [April/May 2001] by J.M. Bumsted carefully explores the hijinks and trial of Anglican clergyman Griffith Owen Corbett during the early 1860s; but Corbett's defence attorney, James Ross, was a rather interesting character in his own right.

Ross came from a highly respected and staunchly Presbyterian family in the Selkirk settlement. (His father, Alexander Ross, had worked tirelessly in securing the services of a Rev. John Black in 1851, thirty-nine years after Lord Selkirk's promise of a minister, marking the first Presbyterian parish to be established west of the Great Lakes at Kildonan in the village of Winnipeg). James Ross, although of mixed blood himself (his mother was a daughter of an Okanagan chief), openly opposed Louis Riel's first rebellion. In 1869, the parish of Kildonan and the Anglican parish of St. John's, with whom the Presbyterians had a historically close relationship, elected Ross to present a series of resolutions on their behalf to the French Métis community condemning the seizure of Fort Garry and the seat of regional government. According to James Marnoch's 1994 book, *Western Witness*, in the negotiations that followed, Ross became the main debater with Riel, and when a provisional government was agreed to, Ross (as chief justice) was instrumental in framing a bill of rights. This bill soon evolved into the Manitoba Act of 1870 thus creating the (then) small province of Manitoba.

James Ross's prominence in the Red River area extended, it would seem, well beyond the Corbett affair.

Douglas Stewart
Regina, Saskatchewan

The *Beaver* welcomes readers' comments.
E-mail us at <cnhs@historysociety.ca> or write to *The Beaver*, 478–167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3B 0T6. Please include your address and daytime phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

Another giant

On page 34 of "Scandal at Red River" [April/May 2001] there is half a photo, purported to be of a school group at Headingly, Manitoba, in the 1860s. In that photo, there are many people, both adults and children. Specifically, in front of the doorway in the left half of the picture, there is a bearded man who would be (what with having a beard and all) fully grown. I would guess his height to be at least middling – perhaps 5'7" or 5'8" compared to the doorway behind him – or perhaps even a little taller, based on the comparative size of the woman to his left.

However, if *this* man is middling height, or a little taller, then the man at the extreme left must be at least seven feet tall or more! Is this simply a poor example of cut-and-paste photo montage work from the 1860s? Or was there a true "giant of a man" living in the Red River area at that time?

Caddie T'Kenye
Vancouver, British Columbia

Editor's note:

The book *The Native Link*, by Leslie Taylor (Pencrest, 1984) identifies the "tall man at far left" as Alex Clouston, a teacher at the Headingly school. Neither the book nor the archive that houses the image have any information on Mr. Clouston's stature, however (the photo doesn't appear to have been tampered with). Readers?

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Light against darkness

I enjoyed Cheryl MacDonald's article "Spring Ahead" [April/May 2001]. My sole reservation about the piece is that it may have slighted those few Canadian civic leaders who had the courage, foolhardiness, or unmitigated gall (according to the various positions of the day) to experiment with daylight saving "as early as 1912." Why are none of the these leaders, or even their communities, named?

I can offer one somewhat curious example from 1912, that of Orillia's two-week adventure with daylight saving under the guidance of William Sword Frost. As well as being Orillia's mayor, Frost was also proprietor of Diamond Hall, a trained watchmaker and jeweller, and a pillar of the local Christian temperance community. His intimacy with time's measure, his very public and oft-proclaimed opposition to demon drink, and his boundless drive for political reform were all manifest in Orillia's 1912 daylight saving bylaw.

To be fair, William Frost should share the credit (or discredit, as many saw it then) with those local worthies, including Charles Harold Hale, publisher of the *Orillia Packet and Times* newspaper, who frequented the back shop of Frost's Diamond Hall to discuss the political issues of the day. Many of these issues originated not in Canada but in Commons debates in far-off London, England, seat of the Empire. The novel idea of "saving" daylight, actively debated in Britain after 1909, had considerable appeal in the back room of Diamond Hall, where economic efficiency, the Protestant work ethic, and temperance, if not Prohibition, were all greatly valued. Might not the dark spectres of sloth and delinquency, close companions of alcohol, also be engaged in Orillia with the help of the two new miracles of illumination, the electric light and daylight saving time? The electric lights were in place by 1912. Daylight saving waited but for the guiding hands of Frost and Hale.

Mayor Frost's daylight saving bylaw was duly passed and applied in 1912, but then rescinded after two weeks of local confusion and outrage, much of the latter expressed by farmers and town workers who saw it as yet another attempt by unscrupulous business interests to profit at their expense. Thereafter William Frost was known as "Daylight Bill," whether or not offense had been taken at his short-lived foray into clock-manipulated social engineering.

Sixty years later, in 1972, one of William Frost's three sons, Leslie Miscampbell Frost, Premier of Ontario from 1949–1961, would contemplate the time when his father and C.H. Hale "came to the thoroughly unsound conclusion that daylight saving would put Orillia on the map."

Brian McFadzen
Dunsford, Ontario

Bigger savings

As one of those people who wrote to the government many years ago arguing to change the beginning of DST to the first week of April, it was a surprise to see that the second sentence in Cheryl MacDonald's article says "On the last Sunday in April, we set our clocks ahead ..." when we've been changing them the first Sunday in April for a few years now; at least in my neighbourhood! And the risk is for the churchgoer to be late for church, since the 11 a.m services begin at what was the previous day's 10 a.m. – an hour less sleep for those who go to bed and get up by the clock. Wouldn't it be nice if we could all do as the birds do – winter and summer – get up with the sun and flow through the day biologically, not by what the clock might say!

Kathy Kay

Editor's note:

Ms. Kay is correct. Since 1988, daylight saving time has begun on the first Sunday in April.

Longboat in good company

Thank you for the most interesting article on Tom Longboat ["Who Do You Think I Am," April/May 2001]. I also appreciated your identifying some additional references with respect to this great aboriginal Canadian.

There is one other reference that writer Peter Unwin overlooked – a reference I have found to be both helpful and entertaining. It is *To Run With Longboat* by Brenda Zeman of Saskatoon (Edmonton: GMS Ventures, 1988). Zeman's work includes twelve stories of native athletes in Canada, including Tom Longboat, "Runner of Messages", as well as chapters on "Indian" Jack Jacobs, an Oklahoman who quarterbacked the Blue Bombers in the fifties, and, my personal favorite, Freddie Sasakamoose, of the Big River Reserve in Saskatchewan. Freddie made it all the way to the Black Hawks of Chicago at a time when the NHL was still a six-team affair.

Carl A. Krause
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Information, please

We are searching for people who may have information or artifacts relating to the New Brunswick Internment Camp that was located in Ripples, a small community twenty miles east of Fredericton, New Brunswick. This camp was one of twenty-six in Canada during the Second World War, and the only one in the Maritime provinces. Between 1940–1941, 711 German and Austrian Jews were interned there behind five rows of barbed wire and six machine-gun towers. Between 1942–1945, 1,200 prisoners, including German and Italian merchant marines and Canadian civilians who were suspected of supporting the enemy, were imprisoned.

In 1997, the New Brunswick Internment Camp Museum opened in Minto, a community ten miles from the original site. To this point the museum has collected over 600 artifacts. If any of your readers have any stories or artifacts connected to the camp and would share these with us, they can contact me by phone at (506) 327-3573 (museum) or (506) 450-9666 (home), by fax at (506) 327-6008, or by mail at 430 Pleasant Dr., Unit 1, Minto, NB E4B 2T3.

Ed Caissie
Chair/Project Coordinator
New Brunswick Internment Camp Heritage Committee
Minto, New Brunswick

Erratum

Lea Theresea Terpenning's gift to Canada's National History Society was incorrectly acknowledged in the Honour Roll 2000, published in the April/May 2001 edition of the *Beaver* to recognize financial contributions to the Society's programs. The acknowledgement should have been worded: "In loving memory of John Gordon Terpenning." The *Beaver* regrets the error.

Drawn from life

Charles Comfort went on to paint the murals in the Toronto Stock Exchange and become the director of the National Gallery of Canada. Hal Foster went on to illustrate *Tarzan* comics and *Prince Valiant* books. Charlie Thorson went on to create the original design conceptions for *Snow White* and *Bugs Bunny*. Gordon Smith went on to become one of Canada's most respected abstract painters.

They had at least one thing in common: They all worked at Brigdens of Winnipeg, a graphic arts firm that from 1914 until the 1970s was the largest employer of artists in the city. In the days before arts council grants and tenured positions in art faculties, places like Brigdens in Winnipeg, like its counterparts Notmans in Montreal and Grip in Toronto, enabled artists to survive financially while working in an art-related field. The Brigden family, as well, encouraged its employees to pursue outside fine-art endeavours and studies, and they did. Artistic reputations flourished in these hothouses, impacting the social and cultural history of the city and the nation.

Now the Winnipeg Art Gallery is celebrating those days of yore when fine artists were intimately involved in commercial art rather than separate from it. *Brigdens of Winnipeg*, on view until the end of August, features the work of thirty artists whose careers were shaped by their day jobs. The off-hours results – landscapes, portraits, and abstract works in watercolour, oil, or ink – form the bulk of the exhibit, but some of the nine-to-five product – the catalogue illustrations and advertising art – are included, too. Brigdens' main task for decades was to produce the western Canadian version of Eaton's mail-order catalogue – a semiannual tome whose impact on the lives of ordinary Canadians for much of the twentieth century can hardly be discounted.

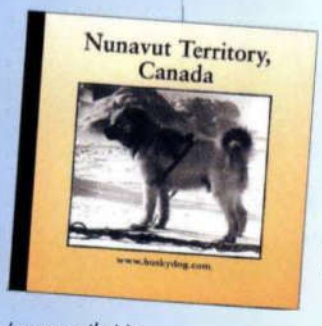
Staff of Brigdens of Winnipeg Limited, December 1942.

COURTESY OF JOHN PHILLIPS

Everything you wanted to know about Nunavut (but were afraid to ask)

Here in the deep south – the deep south of Canada, that is – where most of us are virtually hugging the forty-ninth parallel to stay warm, our thoughts don't often stray too far north. Thus, if asked a question such as "how many kilometres of highway are there in Nunavut," we are apt to wear that vaguely stunned look modelled by so many contestants on TV's *The Weakest Link*.

No more. Thanks to a new CD unambiguously named *Nunavut Territory, Canada*, we can reliably report the answer to the question above is: twenty. There are twenty kilometres of highway in Nunavut. Amaze your friends. Use it as an ice-breaker. Here's some more: the ptarmigan is the official bird of Nunavut. The population of the territory per square kilometre is .01 (compare that to 11 in Ontario). There are not two, but four, official languages: Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, English, and French. Two litres of milk typically costs seven dollars. Nunavut averages about ten centimetres of precipitation a year, which means the territory is essentially a desert.



The CD, produced by Charlie Cahill, who has worked in community development in Nunavut for the past decade, was intended as a resource for schools and libraries, but it's indispensable for anyone interested in the history and culture of Canada's newest and largest territory. The CD contains over four thousand pages of text, photos, drawings, and maps, as well as half an hour of assorted video clips. We particularly liked the sight of muskox running on tundra accompanied by the haunting sound of throat singing.

For further information visit <**www.huskydog.com**>.

Take the day off

August 3: To honour the establishment at Halifax 250 years ago by Bartholomew Green of the first printing press in Canada. Publish your memoirs.

August 17: To mark the 1896 discovery of gold along the Klondike River in Yukon, precipitating the great Klondike Gold Rush. Strike it rich.

September 8: To celebrate sixteen-year-old Marilyn Bell's 1954 fifty-two kilometre swim across Lake Ontario, a feat that gripped the nation. Cross a body of water. (In your case, the neighborhood pool will do.)

September 20: To observe the introduction in 1917 of the Income War Tax Act by the federal government, which established income tax in Canada. Recall the less attractive of life's two certainties: death.

They never shot elephants in their pyjamas

So, who doesn't know Groucho, Harpo, Chico, and Zeppo – the Marx brothers? *A Day at the Races*, *A Night at the Opera*, *Duck Soup*, *Horse Feathers*, etc., etc. But how about Robert, Ernie, Joe, Alex, Tom, John, and MacIntyre – the Marks brothers? Never heard of them? Welcome to Canada.

In the years between 1870 and 1920, the Marks Brothers (as they were billed) were as big north of the forty-ninth parallel as, well, the Marx brothers were to become south of it. Originally Perth county farm boys, they caught the acting bug and, billed as the Canadian Kings of Repertoire, they travelled from town to town and city to city in the era of vaudeville in their trademark high top hats, Prince Albert coats, and handlebar mustaches performing melodrama interspersed with singing, juggling, and comedy to the precinema, pre-radio, pretelevision entertainment-starved masses. Eight million people, it is estimated, watched their act. Then vaudeville died and the Marks Brothers faded into history (oddly enough just as the Marx Brothers were making the transition into film).

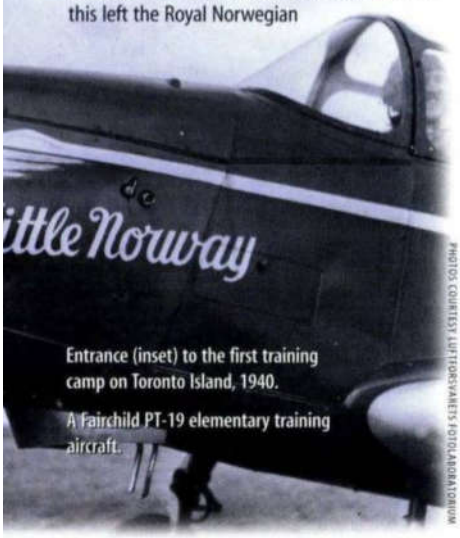
Lately, however, there's a renewed interest in the Marks Brothers. The Perth Museum in Perth, Ontario, is featuring them in its "On Stage in Perth" exhibit, running until September 9, which includes innumerable photographs of the brothers and their equally flamboyant wives, costumes, stage props, top hats, a makeup kit, a silver hip flask, even a shillelagh (well, they *were* Irish). And this month Natural Heritage Books of Toronto is bringing out a lavishly illustrated history of the bros. entitled – no surprise – *Canadian Kings of Repertoire*. Sounds like made-for-motion-picture stuff to us.

Spirit of Little Norway

Sixty years ago, the Muskoka region, 200 kilometres north of Toronto, teemed with Norwegians. And why not? The area is renowned for its pristine lakes, clean air, abundant wildlife, and natural beauty. It's Ontario's cottage country. Still, the Norwegians weren't there for a holiday. It's not that Norway doesn't have its own fair share of pristine lakes, clean air, abundant wildlife, and natural beauty; it's that Norway in 1940 was invaded by Germans and this left the Royal Norwegian Air Force in somewhat of a pickle. Surplus planes, equipment, and training fields to help reorganize the Norwegian air force were at a premium.

Enter the Canadian government, which offered the Norwegian government-in-exile first a parcel of land at the foot of Bathurst Street in Toronto and use of the Toronto Island Airport, then the more rugged terrain at Muskoka for elementary training. "Little Norway," the property came to be called. By 1945, some thirty-three hundred personnel of all ranks and trades and nearly seven hundred aircrew had been trained for the war effort. When Crown Prince Olav attended the flag lowering to mark its closure at the end of the war, more than a thousand guests attended the ceremony.

Now, to commemorate Camp Little Norway, Toronto's Norwegian-Canadian community, together with Norwegian war veterans, have planned the Norwegian-Canadian Memorial Building near Muskoka airport, construction of which is scheduled to begin this October. The museum will contain written and visual accounts of the intertwined history of Muskoka and the Norwegians, along with artifacts, photographs, and books. Additional information is available at the Norwegian embassy website, <**www.emb-norway.ca**>.



Entrance (inset) to the first training camp on Toronto Island, 1940.

A Fairchild PT-19 elementary training aircraft.

PHOTOS COURTESY LUFTFORSVARETS FOTOLABORATORIUM

Website of the month

Is it possible for a patron to have a meaningful or "real" experience visiting a virtual museum?

It's a question that often plagues us in the wee small hours of the morning. That, and "what is the meaning of life?" However, an answer to the former question is easier to come by. After visiting the Virtual Museum of Canada (**www.virtualmuseum.ca**) a recently inaugurated website established by the Canadian Heritage Information Network in collaboration with what seems like just about every museum in Canada, we can reply unambiguously, without fear or favour – sort of.

Virtual museums aren't tactile. You can't taste them or smell them either (not that you can or necessarily want to in a regular four-walls museum). But as virtual museums go, the Virtual Museum of Canada has excellent eyeball and eardrum appeal. Rather than passively looking at historical and cultural objects on the screen and reading their labels, you have, at the VMC, the option of seeing collections come to life in 3-D format, and interact with them by turning them with the click of a mouse. The inaugural *Inuit 3D* exhibit is a good example. With the right plug-ins, you can view a piece of sculpture in the round, rather as if you were walking around it in a museum, or had the chance to pick it up and look at the bottom. Meanwhile, for an aural treat, *Staying in Tune* allows you to run your cursor over the strings or skins of twelve musical instruments from guitars to tanburas to create your own ditties. In the Fun & Games feature, we played the Cariboo Gold Rush game and promptly lost (bought the expensive food and the cheap transport – not wise), then went on to solve a flamboyant millionaire's gruesome murder with the help of forensic science in the Interactive Investigator game. Other sectors are less busy. *Hockey: A Nation's Passion* has a neat hockey puck that shadows your cursor and *Remembering Black Loyalists* has some nice oral effects, and there's over 200,000 images in the Image Gallery, but they hone more to tried-and-true earnest documentary. Well you can't be interactive all the time. Still, the VMC, a museum *sans* walls, is a huge website and has more delights than appears at first sight or even several sights later.

The NDP's Midlife Crisis

Forty years ago, during a sweltering five days from July 31 to August 4, 1961, 2,000 delegates crammed into a convention centre in Ottawa to launch a new Canadian social democratic party. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), conceived in Calgary in 1932 and born the following year in Regina, had been languishing in the polls. In 1958, in the federal election in which John Diefenbaker's Tories took 208 out of 265 seats in the House of Commons, the CCF won only eight ridings. If it all sounds a lot like the crisis facing the NDP today, it was.

The CCF was a creation of the Great Depression. In the Regina Manifesto, the party's founding program, the voice of the Social Gospel rang clearly at a moment of deep despair, particularly on the prairies, where the natural disaster of the dust bowl had combined with the collapse of the wheat market to provoke social catastrophe. Arrayed behind its saintly leader J.S. Woodsworth, a former Methodist clergyman, the CCF spoke of a society in which Canadians would be their brothers' keepers and a planned economy would replace a tottering capitalism.

Mainstream social democracy was never as removed from the centre of established Canadian political values as during the Great Depression. The CCF, in its peaceful way, talked of eradicating the existing social order, not merely modifying it. It was not until the Second World War that the CCF came in out of the cold. The war provoked a revolution in the role of government in Canadian society. The CCF had maintained that state planning could eliminate unemployment. Wartime economic mobilization under the direction of the federal government proved that the social democrats were right. Canadians saw with their own eyes what Ottawa could do to put people back to work if it had a strong enough incentive. What social democrats were saying fitted with what Canadians now thought. Toward the end of the war, to the horror of Mackenzie King, the federal CCF was rising in popular support. In 1944, the party won power in Saskatchewan under the leadership of Tommy Douglas.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA-142472

Tommy Douglas addressing the founding convention of the New Democratic Party, Ottawa, July 1961.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-032122

If the war pulled the CCF closer to the centre of Canadian political thought, the subsequent Cold War posed a new challenge. During the era of McCarthyism, talk of socialism was associated in many minds with Soviet communism and Joseph Stalin. It was David Lewis, for many years the national secretary of the CCF, who steered social democrats through the dangerous shoals of the fifties. At a 1956 CCF convention in Winnipeg, Lewis was the architect of a new party manifesto – the Winnipeg Declaration. The declaration substituted Keynesian reformism for the much more far reaching program of the Regina Manifesto. The CCF now accepted the idea that the private sector would dominate the economy. For its part, government would use the tools of fiscal and monetary policy and extensions of the welfare state to ensure full employment and greater social equality.

Changing the party's program was only half of David Lewis's prescription for Canadian social democracy. The

Opinions expressed in Explorations are the author's own, and do not necessarily reflect those of the *Beaver*.

other half led directly to the launch of the new party in the summer of 1961. As a Rhodes scholar at Oxford in the 1930s, David Lewis had developed close ties with leading members of the British Labour Party. He was convinced that the only way for a Canadian social democratic party to endure was to form permanent organizational links to the labour movement.

With the Winnipeg Declaration, Lewis believed the party had a pragmatic program that would appeal to working-class Canadians. He seized on the electoral disaster of 1958 as an opportunity to remake the party from top to bottom and to forge the alliance with labour. During the three years from 1958 to 1961, Canadian social democrats were involved in a continuous process of debate and renewal, a very useful example of what is sorely needed again today.

During the great debate, the consensus in the party leadership was that social democrats had to reach out to what they called "liberally minded Canadians." To realize this objective and widen social democracy's base, "new party" clubs were set up in many parts of the country to help people who would have found CCF clubs too narrow and set in their ways to feel at home. During this heady period, a school teacher named Walter Pitman won a by-election in Peterborough, Ontario, not as a CCFer, but as the first New Party member of parliament.

Dovetailing with Lewis's plan for a union between labour and the CCF was the merger in 1956 of the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC) and the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL) to form the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC). At the convention of 1961, it was the CCF, the CLC, and representatives of the New Party clubs who joined forces to establish a new political institution.

By the time the delegates arrived at Ottawa for the convention, the question of leadership had received a great deal of thought. Many in Ontario wanted David Lewis, the architect of the party's new course, to stand for leader. But Lewis was not enthusiastic. In part, he was concerned that the Canadian people might not yet be prepared to accept a Jewish leader of a national political party. Right from the start, Lewis hoped that Tommy Douglas, the only social democrat ever to head a provincial government, could be enticed to give up the job of Saskatchewan premier to take on the task of leading the New Party. But well into the year the New Party was launched, Tommy Douglas remained negative, at best skeptical, about being leader. Only at the very end did he accept the argument that he was the only person who could lead social democrats out of their Saskatchewan beachhead.

In June 1960, Douglas had led the CCF back to power in a provincial election. During that campaign, he had declared that he would interpret an electoral victory as a mandate to establish a government-funded medicare program in Saskatchewan. With seventeen years under his belt as premier, Douglas was not only well loved and widely reputed to be the finest orator in the country, he was the symbol of political victory, exactly what the New Party needed at the federal level.

A leadership contest between Lewis and Douglas was never in the cards, but unlike J.S. Woodsworth and M.J. Coldwell, his illustrious predecessors at the helm of the CCF, Douglas did face an opponent at the Ottawa convention – Hazen Argue, the only CCF MP from Saskatchewan to survive the Diefenbaker sweep of 1958. The Douglas-Argue standoff generated excitement. At the 1961 contest in Ottawa, Douglas easily won with 1,391 ballots against Argue's 380. In fact, the leadership battle legitimized Douglas as a party leader, launching him with far more flair than a staid CCF-style convention would have.

While the New Party declaration adopted in Ottawa was ideologically similar to the 1956 Winnipeg Declaration, the tidal wave of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, which had begun with the election of Jean Lesage's Liberal government in 1960, made an important difference. In 1961, the NDP, to the great discomfiture of some long-standing members such as constitutional expert Eugene Forsey, pronounced that while Canada was a nation, it embodied two "national cultures."

The other great controversy at the convention was over the new party's name. Some delegates thought the label "New Party" had already caught on and ought to be adopted. Others wanted the term "social democratic" to be included in the party name. Among the Ontario delegates, enthusiasm for the name "New Democratic Party" developed. It, of course, carried the day.

The NDP did not live up to some of its founders' hopes that it would become a contender for power in Ottawa. In subsequent federal elections, it won more voters on average than the CCF had. The NDP's best performance came in the fateful free-trade election of 1988 when it won 20.4 per cent of the vote and forty-three seats. Over the course of its existence, the party has won power in four provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Ontario.

But in the age of free trade and globalization, the NDP has fallen on hard times. In the 1993 federal election, the NDP lost status as an official party in parliament. While it bounced back in 1997, in the 2000 election the NDP was reduced to thirteen seats in the House. Following devastating provincial defeats in Ontario, and recently in British Columbia, the party remains in office in Manitoba and clings to power in a coalition government in Saskatchewan. The crisis that now confronts Canadian social democrats is as deep as the one that led to the founding of the NDP forty years ago.

For four decades, the federal NDP has lived off variations on the themes embodied in the 1956 Winnipeg Declaration. It remains a party committed to using the powers of the Canadian state to improve the conditions of the majority, largely through the further extension of social programs. The federal NDP has not yet acted as though it comprehends the vast changes globalization and technological revolution have brought to the nature of capitalism. While a vigorous, important new movement has arisen to oppose the corporate agenda inherent in globalization, the NDP is only tangentially associated with the vitality and new leadership this movement can provide. Most ominous, the party is largely cut off from the younger generation from which this new movement springs.

James Laxer, who ran second for the federal leadership of the NDP in 1971, is a professor of political science at York University in Toronto. He is the author of *In Search of a New Left: Canadian Politics After the Neo-Conservative Assault.*

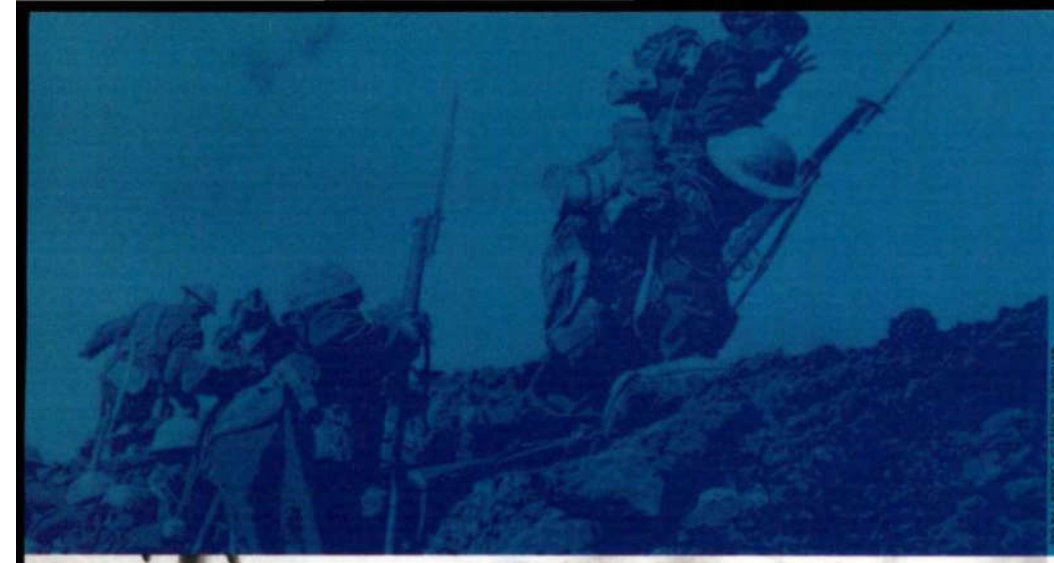
A War on Two Fronts

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES / SC 244, ITEM 7358

by Gregory S. Kealey and Andrew Parnaby *In the Great War, the Canadian state found itself fighting on two fronts. And the historical irony is striking: while thousands of working-class men and women were marched off to Europe, ostensibly to defend the rights and freedoms of democracy against tyranny, such highly prized ideals were routinely – and often severely – violated at home.*

R.B. Russell could not believe his eyes. It was bad enough that as a high-profile member of the left-wing Socialist Party of Canada and One Big Union he was on trial for his involvement in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 – a standoff between the city's working and employing classes that had paralyzed the city for six weeks. But now this: one of the Crown's star witnesses in this highly publicized show trial, one of eight since the strike's bloody conclusion that June, was Harry Blask, a member of the SPC from Calgary who had been working as an undercover agent for the Royal North-West Mounted Police for over a year. To stalwarts of the struggle like Russell, the presence of paid informants in the ranks of the labour movement, while infuriating, was not a complete surprise – employers had often hired private detectives to keep tabs on union activity. But as Blask's ties to the RNWMP, time underground, and important role in securing Russell's conviction made clear, this labour spy was no ordinary, company-hired gumshoe.

Recruited by the force in 1917, Blask was an Italian immigrant whose real name was Franco Zanetti but who renamed himself Frank Zaneth. He was sent underground in the spring of 1918, joining other new recruits whose social class, ethnicity, and language skills, the force thought, made them well suited for work among the country's so-called undesirables: working people who opposed Canada's war effort and, once the armistice was signed, demanded a larger slice of the capitalist pie. Zaneth's first assignment was in Quebec City, where he helped local and federal authorities



Clockwise, from near left:

World War I brought mass mobilization to Canada for the first time. More than 600,000 Canadians fought in the trenches of France, ten percent of whom lost their lives. But veterans returned home to miserly treatment in a postwar climate of economic depression, which added fuel to an already charged labour situation.

Men waiting to enlist at the Toronto armouries, 1914. Despite early enthusiasm for the war when it began in August 1914, voluntary recruitment dwindled as the war became protracted. By late 1916, manpower shortages were growing in the wake of terrible casualties in France and Flanders. To compel the enlistment of citizens for military service, Parliament passed the Military Services Act in August 1917, which sowed dissent in the ranks of organized labour. Trade union leaders generally acceded to the new law but many of the rank-and-file remained opposed. As a military measure, conscription proved to be a failure. Evasions and exemptions were widespread. Politically, it alienated the working class and helped fuel the labour strikes that marked war's end.

Crowds on Main Street during the Winnipeg General Strike. On May 15, 1919, almost 30,000 workers left their jobs, closing Winnipeg's factories, curtailing its retail trade, and stopping transportation and public services. Striking for the principal of collective bargaining, better wages, and improvement of working conditions, the workers remained off the job for six weeks. Manufacturers, bankers, politicians, and press, meanwhile, declared the strike a revolutionary conspiracy and convinced the federal government to step in. On June 17, a charge by Royal North-West Mounted Police into a crowd of strikers resulted in thirty casualties and one death. A week later, with federal troops occupying the streets, the strikers decided to return to work.

restore order after violent anticonscription riots rocked the provincial capital. From there he moved west to Alberta, and after stops in Drumheller and Canmore, Zaneth, now known as Harry Blask, settled in Calgary and submerged himself in the local radical scene. He moved through the ranks of the Socialist Party of Canada and attended the Western Labor Conference, a historic gathering of left-wing unionists that launched the One Big Union. Within a year, Blask was informing his RNWMP handlers of every radical activity taking place in the city, knowledge that proved useful in the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike at Russell's trial. After assisting the Crown in convicting the labour activist on charges of "seditious conspiracy" and having his cover blown in the process, Harry Blask's brief career as a labour spy was, for all intents and purposes, over. But not before he had helped undermine domestic resistance to the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 30954

Franco Zanetti, a.k.a. Frank Zaneth, a.k.a. Harry Blask.

Zaneth, born in a village southwest of Milan in 1890, emigrated to the U.S. at the turn of the last century. After marrying in 1910, he and his wife moved to Moose Jaw, where they eventually acquired a homestead. By 1917, however, with both his marriage and his agricultural pursuits finished, he joined the Royal North-West Mounted Police and began to work undercover in the Canadian labour movement. After helping local and federal authorities restore order in Quebec City after the violent Easter-weekend, 1918 anti-conscription riots, he headed west where he infiltrated the radical labour movement in the Drumheller coal mines and later in Calgary. His testimony was crucial to the conviction of the leaders of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. Later, in the 1920s and 1930s, his undercover work was directed toward the illicit trade in liquor and drugs and money-laundering activities.

Great War and beat back the socialist tide.

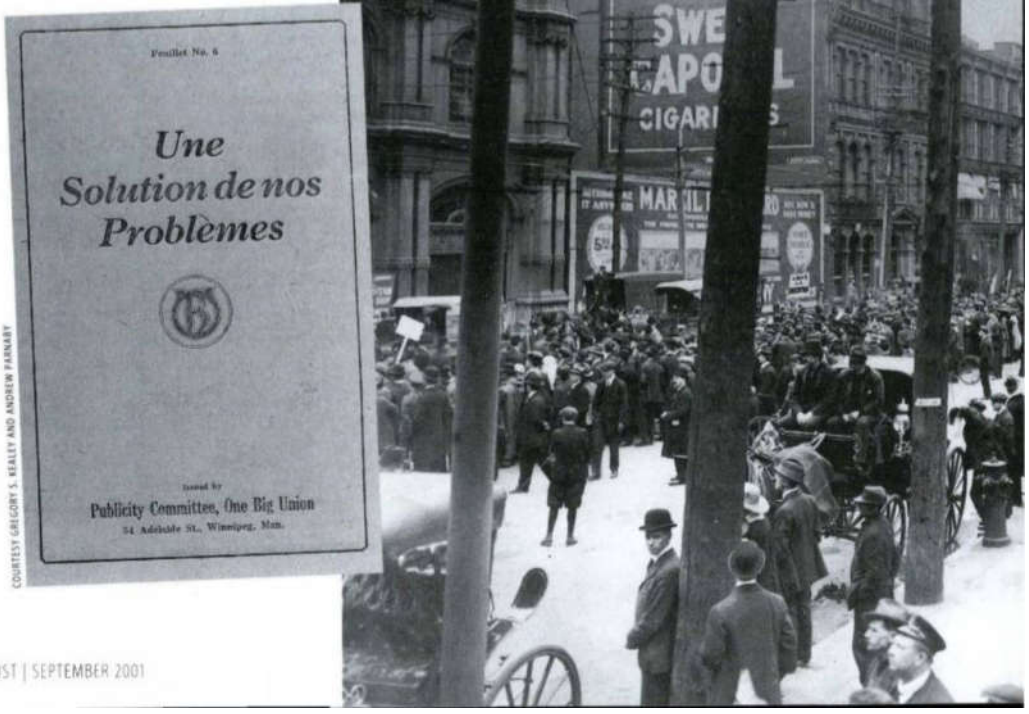
Although Blask's stint as an undercover agent was brief, it captures nicely the twin crises that faced the federal government during these tumultuous years – and, importantly, the solutions it employed to help solve them. Of particular concern to Prime Minister Robert Borden's Conservative and later Union governments was the obvious necessity of mobilizing a diverse and politically fractious nation for war. The second and less appreciated challenge of these years was the defence of the economic and political status quo against the twin threats of labour militancy and socialism that swept the nation during the Canadian labour revolt of 1917–20. The revolt – which climaxed in 1919 with the confrontation at Winnipeg and a wave of sympathy strikes that followed the arrest of Russell and other strike leaders – was the first significant nationwide challenge to capitalist rule. Taken together, the significant problems posed by the war – the presence of large immigrant communities from enemy nations resident in Canada, the need for secrecy about the war effort, and resistance to conscription – coupled with the labour unrest of the period, prompted Ottawa to create the legislative and institutional means necessary to undermine internal dissent. The federal government, then, was waging a war on two fronts, one in which men like Harry Blask and, more importantly, the

When Ottawa decided in late May 1917 to proceed with conscription ... talk of general strikes and even revolution filled the air.

fledgling spy network of which he was a part, played a decisive role. In short, in the crucible of both world war and class war, the Canadian secret service – today associated with the RCMP and the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) – was born.

Among the first actions of the Borden government after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe was to invoke the War Measures Act, a move that assured the prime minister and the cabinet, the executive arm of the federal government, the maximum power possible to pursue the course of war.

"The Governor in Council shall have power to do and authorize such acts and things, and to make from time to time such orders and regulations, as he may by reason of the real or apprehended war, invasion, or insurrection deem necessary for the security, defence, peace, order, and welfare of Canada," its preamble read, laying out the executive's new, unbridled powers. Unprecedented in the annals of parliamentary government, the "orders and regulations"



COURTESY GREGORY S. KEALEY AND ANDREW PARNABY

Anticonscription parade (right), Victoria Square, Montreal, May 24, 1917. Six days earlier, Prime Minister Robert Borden had announced to Parliament his intent to introduce compulsory military service.

At the end of the Great War, class conflict grew to unprecedented levels. In the first decades of the twentieth century, industrial unionism had advanced in the wake of capitalism's transformation to mass production. Working-class districts coalesced in Canada's major cities and spawned their own distinct cultures. The working class itself expanded in the prewar years with new members from eastern and southern Europe, many of them schooled in socialism. Emboldened by the success of the 1917 Russian Revolution, in March 1919 delegates from most union locals in western Canada met in Calgary and decided to conduct a referendum among its members whether to secede from the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and form a revolutionary industrial union to be called the One Big Union. The vote, held during the Winnipeg General Strike, overwhelmingly endorsed the concept and the OBU was born in June 1919. At its peak in 1920, the OBU had close to 50,000 members. However, external pressure and internal dissent reduced the union to a tenth its size within a few years. In 1956, it was absorbed into the Canadian Labour Congress.

La Soluzione del nostro Problema
ONE BIG UNION
NELSON B. C. UNIT
ROOM 15 K.W.C. BLOCK
Commitato di Publicita della One Big Union

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C 6859

permitted under the act – called "orders-in-council" or "Privy Council Orders" (PC) – took aim at a wide range of concerns, including the "censorship," "control," and "suppression" of all "means of communication" and the "arrest," "detention," and "deportation" of citizens deemed harmful to the war effort. Such decrees did not require the approval of Parliament to become law, nor did they possess either a time limit or independent mechanism for termination. In short, as historian Arthur Lower observed over thirty years ago, the Borden government had effectively replaced parliamentary government during the First World War with an order-in-council government – and it wasted little time in flexing this new, all-powerful muscle.

In late October, Ottawa demanded that all "enemy aliens" – its phrase for immigrants from enemy nations residing in Canada – appear for registration and examination before special registrars or local police in major centres. Those men and women deemed nonthreatening were either allowed to leave Canada or to remain free under condition they report monthly to the registrar. "Enemy aliens" considered dangerous or who failed or refused to register were interned as prisoners of war. In an initial wave of enthusiasm, some six thousand aliens, most of whom were Ukrainians, not Germans, found themselves interned. That most Ukrainian-Canadians passionately hated the Austro-Hungarian Empire made no difference. The federal government followed this aggressive move by creating the office of the chief press censor in July 1915 to monitor and, if need be, shut down publications critical of the war, a task that once fell to the military and post office. Originally instructed to take aim at the foreign-language press, the office's mandate was expanded in subsequent years to include any materials considered hostile to conscription or the war effort.

The government also faced the daunting task of recruiting Canadians for the armed services. As early as the summer of 1915, recruiters began to complain of difficulties attracting adequate numbers of soldiers. Consequently, the Borden government, under heavy pressure from various upper-class patriotic groups, created the National Service Board (NSB) on August 1, 1916, and appointed a director-general of national service to undertake a voluntary survey of potential soldiers. In the face of considerable criticism from both organized and unorganized workers, the prime minister assured the country that the voluntary nature of national service "render[ed] unnecessary any resort to compulsion." Conscription, it appeared, was not in the offing. The leaders of the Trades and Labor Congress, the national umbrella organization of trade unions, accepted Borden's argument and recommended full compliance to its affiliated unions, abandoning their original antidraft mandate, which they had sought and received in August 1916. In the eyes of many trade unionists, it was a stunning reversal, one that effectively divided the labour movement over the progress of the war.

In the aftermath of the TLC leadership's acceptance of national registration, a storm of protest arose from Canadian workers. When Ottawa decided in late May 1917 to proceed with conscription – a move prompted by both the failure of other voluntary schemes and pressure from the Imperial War Cabinet in England – and passed the Military Service Act that August, opposition grew fierce. Talk of general strikes and even revolution filled the air. "There were two major views of the War, that of the exploiter and that of the exploited," declared Alphonse Verville, the sitting Liberal-Labour member of parliament for Montreal-Hochelaga. The ensuing 1917 federal election campaign was punctuated by anticonscription demonstrations but ended in a convincing victory by the pro-war Union government, a victory gained, at least in part, by electoral shenanigans of a previously unheard of level in Canadian general elections.

For the mainstream labour movement, the conscription debate came to a head at the September 1917 TLC convention in Ottawa. The organization's executive took the easy position that because the Military Service Act was law, labour could not afford to oppose it. Delegates saw things differently

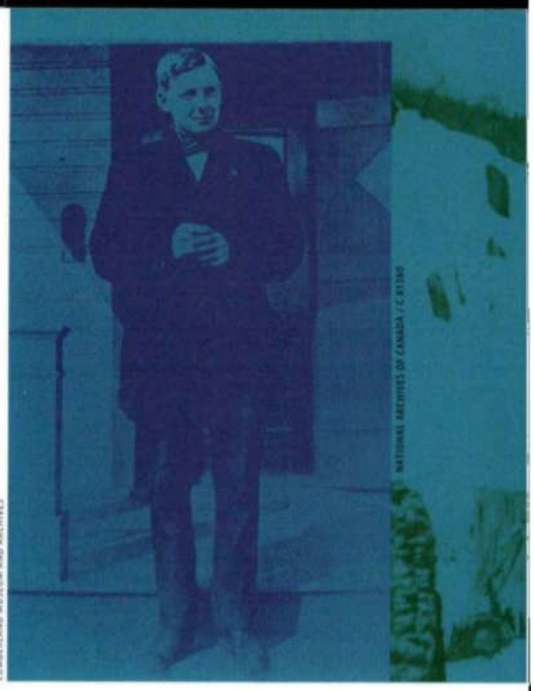
and called for a militant stand. After hours of fiery exchange, general opposition to conscription of manpower prevailed – though fears of government repression led to the defeat of a more radical motion that labour would back conscription of manpower only if wealth, too, was conscripted. Although the national trade union leadership bowed out of the struggle against compulsory service, the fight did not end there.

Those who resisted the Military Services Act took action in many ways. Applying for an exemption was the easiest method. Of the first 160,000 men called to report, fully 92 per cent did just that. By the end of 1917, some 73 per cent of those seeking exemptions had been successful. Others took more radical action. In Quebec City on Easter weekend 1918, anticonscription demonstrators sacked the offices of pro-Borden newspapers and the registrar of the MSA and later clashed with troops sent to restore order – confrontations that left four workers dead. On the West Coast, on August 2, 1918, thousands participated in Canada's first political general strike to protest the killing of miners' leader and MSA defaulter Albert "Ginger" Goodwin, who had been shot, allegedly in self-defence, by Dominion Police special constable Dan Campbell. (Campbell was later exonerated by a special inquiry.) The Borden government had imposed conscription over the heated objections of Canadian labour, but it had done so at considerable cost: by calling the moderate leadership of the TLC into disrepute, it helped pave the way to the massive labour revolt that peaked in the summer of 1919.

From 1917 to 1920, unprecedented levels of class conflict rocked Canada. The climax of this labour revolt took place in 1919, when about 150,000 workers participated in 428 separate confrontations, including local battles, wider general strikes that shut down entire industries and cities – the largest and best-known taking in place in Winnipeg – and sympathy strikes held in solidarity with the men and women on the picket lines in the Manitoba capital. From coast to coast, workers in nearly all sectors of the economy, from telephone operators and waitresses to miners and loggers, confronted both employers and the government for higher wages, better working conditions, and union recognition. Others called for a "new democracy" based on production for use, not for profit. Surveying the situation in the eye of the storm in Winnipeg, the commissioner of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, A.B. Perry, remarked: "The greater number of labour men, and probably the community as a whole, are in an uncertain, apprehensive, nervous and irritable temper. Perhaps these agitators are but the foam on the wave."

The causes of this wave of unrest were legion. On the home front, manufacturers continued to make massive profits, while wartime inflation pushed the cost of living higher and higher, making it extremely difficult for workers and their families to make ends meet. At the same time, the notion that collective struggle was both necessary and just was emboldened by the spread of trade unionism into previously unorganized areas in 1918. Letter carriers in Vancouver, firefighters in Edmonton, civic workers in Winnipeg, and, most alarming of all to the Canadian upper class, police officers in many large cities signed union cards. Overseas, the Russian Revolution and the subsequent tide of revolts across Europe stimulated Canadian socialists who were already battling the government's wartime polices and debating the possibilities of postwar reconstruction.

Other, longer-term factors were important as well. From the turn of the century to the eve of the war, Canadian capitalism underwent a significant transformation. The small shops of the skilled artisans slowly gave way to larger, more sophisticated factories, a process that gutted skilled trades, brought more workers together into larger workplaces, and, as a result, enhanced their capacity for collective action. At the same time, working-class districts, like those linked to the huge metal plants and railroad shops across the country, became the centres of workers' lives, generating distinct cultures and institutions that helped widen circles of struggle beyond the work-



CUMBERLAND MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER

DON'T LET YOUR ENEMY GET IN BETWEEN!

Not only was the federal government mobilizing to fight the enemy abroad, but, increasingly, the enemy was seen to be at home too.

Thirty-year-old English-born B.C. labour leader Albert "Ginger" Goodwin (far left) was classified as fit for military service when conscription became law in 1917, though he had been judged unfit earlier due to tuberculosis. After twice appealing his reclassification, he and other draft evaders hid in the bushes near Cumberland, B.C., but he was tracked down by Dominion Police special constable Dan Campbell and shot. Though charged with manslaughter, Campell was exonerated by a special inquiry. In response, on the day of Goodwin's funeral, August 2, 1918, thousands of trade union members and sympathizers downed tools for twenty-four hours, giving Canada its first political general strike.

place. Finally, the working class, which ballooned with new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe in the prewar years, had by 1919 undergone a notable transformation of its own. It matured, coalesced, and to some degree at least, commenced the process of incorporating new workers into the movement – Jewish, Ukrainian, and Finnish women and men who often possessed socialist backgrounds.

Drawn together in the electrified context of the Great War, these conditions produced an unprecedented level of class conflict – in 1919 alone, the equivalent of almost 3.5 million days of work were lost to industrial strife. From the anticonscription agitation to the summer strike wave, the war came home with a vengeance. It certainly did not await the return of the Canadian troops after the November 1918 armistice. Not surprisingly, the unrest of this period aroused the fears of the Canadian government, prompting an intensification of repression and a Red scare of ample proportions.

Internment, which had been used less and less in 1915 and 1916, made an instant recovery. Although authorities had harassed socialist and pacifist opponents of the war in its early years, their efforts grew massively in this period of unrest. "Foreign aliens" charged with anything related to radical politics – possession of prohibited literature, attendance at illegal meetings, membership in an illegal group – found themselves whisked away to internment camps. Indeed, in February 1919, as the summer strike wave was just starting to heat up, the government considerably expanded the camps' potential by allowing any county- or district-court judge, on a summary complaint from a municipal authority or any reasonable citizen, to intern on grounds no greater than a "feeling of public apprehension entertained by the community." When the camps were finally closed fifteen months after peace in Europe, nearly nine thousand men, women, and children had been interned, of which only a third, by Ottawa's own admission, could even remotely be considered conventional prisoners of war. Some eighty thousand other foreign-born Canadians had passed through the registration and examination procedures without being detained.

As dramatic as internment, however, was the government's suppression of two other democratic freedoms. On September 25, 1918, Ottawa passed PC 2381, an order-in-council that curtailed freedom of the press by banning all publications in an "enemy language." Many left-wing labour newspapers were closed down; so, too, were all Finnish and Ukrainian publications, radical or not. Equally striking was PC 2384, a decree that drastically curtailed freedom of association, assembly, and speech for a select group of Canadians, most of whom were foreign immigrants. Illegality, in effect, became retroactive, as the order presumed "in the absence of proof to the contrary" that the accused was

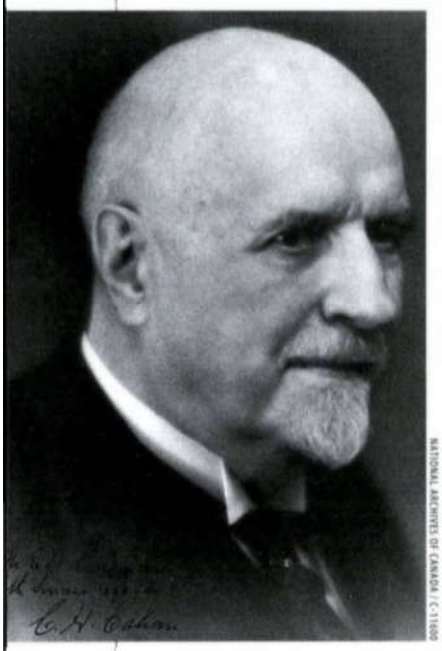
Otter Internment Camp (above), Yoho National Park, B.C., 1916. During World War I, nationals of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Turkish Empires were subject to internment as enemy aliens. While "reasonable grounds" had to be presented to intern someone believed to be engaged in espionage or other illegal activities, in the temper of the times pacifists, socialists, and anti-conscription advocates, as well as recent immigrants, found themselves subject to scrutiny. Some eighty thousand foreign-born Canadians passed through the registration and examination procedures. Nearly nine thousand were interned, of which only a third, by Ottawa's own admission, could be considered prisoners of war.

A period view (left) of capital and labour from a big city daily, the *Toronto Daily News*, February 11, 1919.

a subversive if, since the outbreak of the war, he or she had "repeatedly" attended meetings of a banned group, spoken publicly about its ideals, or distributed its literature.

Under such rules of engagement, the Dominion Police and the Royal North-West Mounted Police participated in an extraordinary wave of arrests, prosecutions, and convictions of alleged subversives. Working to the east of Lake Superior, the Dominion Police, with the assistance of provincial and local forces, carried out extensive undercover work that led to the arrest of dissidents in Sault Ste. Marie, Toronto, Windsor, Montreal, Welland, and Hamilton. "The spirit of Bolshevism is strong among the aliens in this country and the Russians and the Finns are the class that requires the most attention," the superintendent of the Ontario Provincial Police wrote in 1919. In the West, fresh from a week-long stint in jail orchestrated by the RNWMP to bolster his revolutionary credentials, Harry Blask was busy ingratiating himself to George Sangster, a

The Insider



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-11600

Charles Hazlitt Cahan: organized labour's nemesis.

To Canada's political and business elite, C.H. Cahan's appointment as director of the Public Safety Branch of the Department of Justice was perhaps not a complete surprise. Born in Nova Scotia in 1861 to a Presbyterian family, Cahan attended Dalhousie University, graduating with an LLB in 1890 and BA in 1896. After several years with the influential *Herald and Mail*, he turned his attention to corporate law and party politics – two pursuits that would dominate his public life for nearly half a century. As a lawyer, Cahan, who was called to the bar in both Nova Scotia (1893) and Quebec (1908), worked a great deal with Canadian companies, like Mexican Light and Power, incorporated in 1902, that were active in the developing world. Throughout the early 1900s, Cahan's stable of corporate clients expanded considerably with the addition of investors from the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, British Guyana, and Trinidad.

"Mr. Cahan is generally accepted as the mouthpiece of the Holt, Gundy and other big business interests of Montreal," the British High Commissioner in Ottawa remarked candidly in 1929. Echoed Max Aitken, the future Lord Beaverbrook, commenting years later on the period in which Cahan handled the affairs of his Royal Securities Corporation: "He was well paid. His legal fees were large – too large for that age."

Cahan's political ambitions, like his legal fees, were large too. In 1890 he was elected to the Nova Scotia legislature and served as leader of the Conservative opposition for four years. But his success on the provincial hustings was short-lived. He ran unsuccessfully in two subsequent provincial elections in 1896 and 1900. Eleven years later, Cahan, who by then was wealthy and had moved permanently to Montreal, was working as an organizer for the federal Tories, then under the leadership of Robert Borden, himself an attorney from Nova Scotia. During the 1911 federal election, a battle that turned on the controversial issue of free trade, Cahan helped broker an alliance with Quebec nationalists and, in so doing, delivered twenty-seven seats to the Conservatives, helping the party defeat Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals. During World War I, Cahan, who ran unsuccessfully for the Tories in 1917, worked his political and business connections to help procure munitions from the United States for the Allied forces, a move made possible by his presence on the board of Canadian Car and Foundry, a Montreal-based operation with plants in the U.S. that was involved in wartime production.

Some sources suggest that Cahan's first taste of intelligence and security work came in early 1917 when he was asked to investigate a mysterious explosion at Canadian Car's New Jersey plant – a blast thought to be the work of German saboteurs. Less than a year later, just as the labour revolt was starting to congeal, the Borden administration asked him to draw up a report on left-wing activities in Canada – a document that prompted further repression of working people's democratic freedoms. Cahan was subsequently appointed director of public safety, a position he held until early 1919 when he resigned to protest Borden's foot-dragging on his more ambitious plans. His political career, however, was by no means over. He was finally elected to the House of Commons in 1925 and reelected in 1926, 1930, and 1935. During the Bennett administration he served as secretary of state. Defeated in the 1940 federal election, the staunch conservative retired from public life. He died four years later in Montreal at the age of eighty-three.

This sidebar is based in part on archival and secondary research carried out by Michael Butt, whom the authors wish to thank for his assistance.

Calgary machinist and prominent radical, and gaining access to the local left-wing scene. In the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike, he made his infamous appearance at Russell's trial, despite the RNWMP's initial misgivings about losing one of its most effective labour spies, and was subsequently promoted into the upper echelons of the force.

Clearly, intelligence and security matters were on the government's political front burner. According to one police report entitled "Bolshevik Propaganda," between the fall of 1918 and June 1919, 214 men and women, most of them of Finnish and Slav ancestry, were charged with various offences, including possession of prohibited literature, attending illegal meetings, and being members of banned organizations. Not only was the federal government mobilizing to fight the enemy abroad, but, increasingly, the enemy was seen to be at home too. To bring it to heel, though, it had to put internal security and intelligence matters on a more secure, bureaucratic footing.

As conflicting and incomplete reports concerning the nature of unrest in the country poured into Ottawa, the Borden government commissioned Montreal lawyer C.H. Cahan to draw up a report on socialist and left-wing activities in Canada. Reporting to the minister of justice in September 1918, Cahan confirmed the government's worst fears about foreign agitators and Bolshevik agents. In addition to raising the spectre of a creeping "Red menace," Cahan recommended that the government create more permanent internal mechanisms to carry out a systematic and coordinated countersubversive strategy. Shortly after filing his report, Cahan accepted a new position as director of the Public Safety Branch of the Department of Justice, with an ambiguous mandate to advise on security matters. He held the position only until January 1919, then quit in protest when the Union government resisted some of his more aggressive efforts.

In the wake of the summer strike wave, Ottawa set about building an institution capable of coordinating such repression on a national basis. It broadened the mandate of the RNWMP, granting it complete jurisdiction in the area of federal law enforcement and national security. Within this wider framework, a new Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB), responsible for the running of detectives and spies across the country, was established at Regina headquarters. A year later, the older Dominion Police force was quietly merged into the larger RNWMP to produce the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the new force's headquarters were moved to Ottawa to emphasize its new national role. Once in the nation's capital, the RCMP expanded its security work further by creating a central registry – an extensive archive of the country's so-called undesirables – and, later, by appointing a liaison and intelligence officer. This position produced weekly summaries of security and intelligence material collected by the force for the perusal of the prime minister and cabinet.

In the wake of the summer strike wave, Ottawa set about building an institution capable of coordinating [the recommended] repression on a national basis.

Thus, by 1922, with the creation of the CIB, the central registry, and the office of the liaison and intelligence officer, the security state had arrived in Canada. While the labour activism that prompted these extraordinary actions would dwindle in the political and economic climate of the 1920s, Ottawa's new security apparatus, operating out of the Department of Immigration and Justice and through military intelligence and the RCMP, would remain alert through the Great Depression, the next period of nationwide worker militancy. And, as the twentieth century progressed, through the Cold War and periods of domestic insurgency such as the FLQ crisis, it would consolidate its position not only as the government's monitor of labour activists but of political and social dissenters of all kinds.

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et cetera

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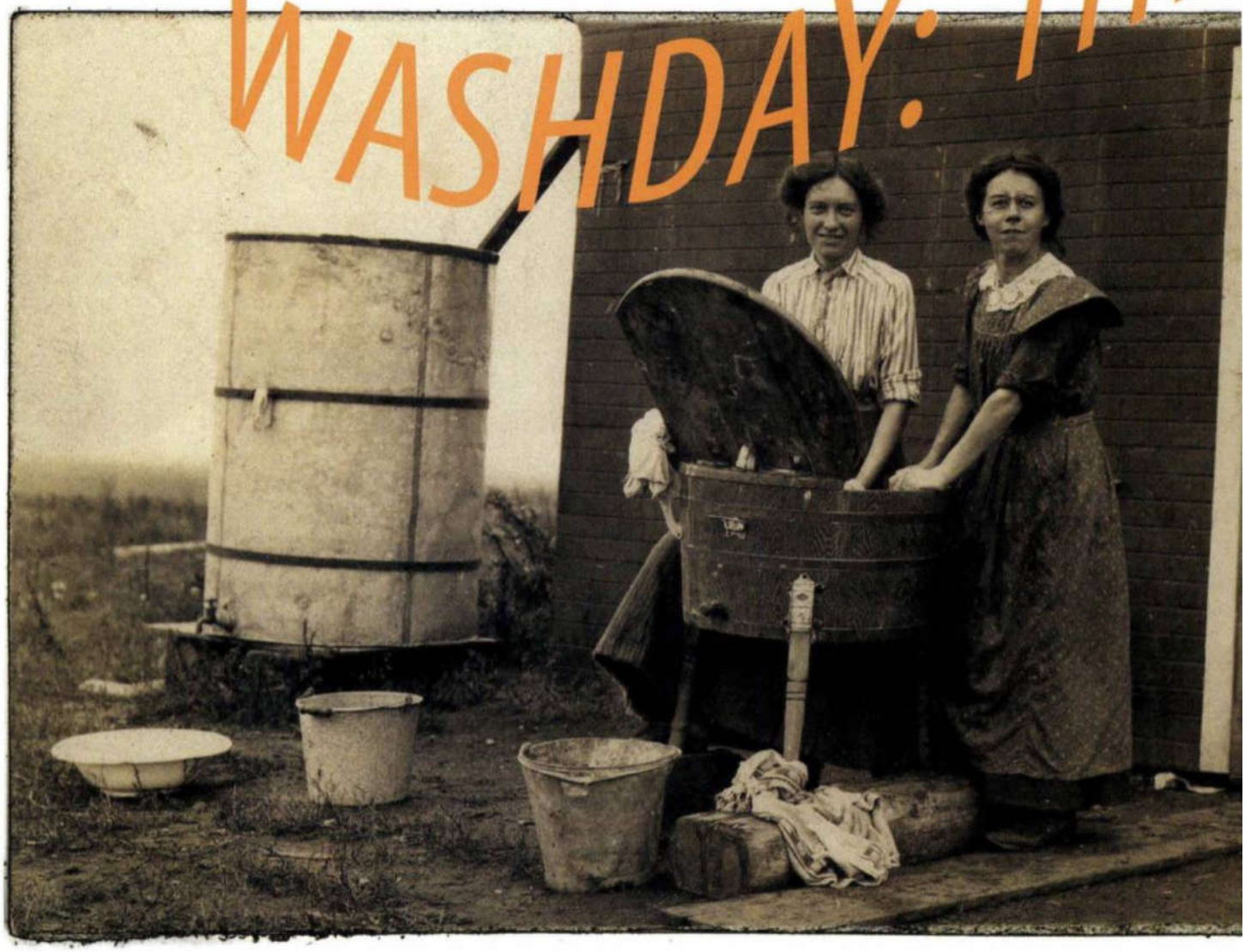
by Cheryl MacDonald

WASHDAY: THE



Elsie Parrett (above, at left) and sister-in-law Mabel Parrett doing the weekly wash at the farm near Pilot Mound, Manitoba, 1913. The wooden washtub has one flat side to accommodate a wringer, which wasn't available. A rain barrel supplied soft water for washing.

Spend an hour watching any commercial television network and you're sure to be bombarded with laundry advertisements. Detergents, bleaches, stain removers, fabric softeners, washing machines, and automatic dryers are just some of the products offered. Popular magazines also contain a large number of laundry-related ads, most directed at women, who shoulder much of the responsibility for the family wash.

Feminists have criticized the inane portrayal of women in advertisements, which would have us believe nothing matters more than clean, bright clothing. Probably few women would disagree with this perspective, at least not openly. But doing the laundry – and doing it well – has been an integral part of female culture for generations. It is also an aspect of women's work that is particularly subject to public scrutiny. A woman can hide poor cooking or housekeeping skills from outsiders by not inviting guests to the house, but clothes are worn in public, where everyone can judge their cleanliness. And cleanliness is important, because cleanliness and respectability have been interconnected in our culture for several hundred years.

WEEKLY "RITUAL"

COURTESY ROY PARROTT

Laundering of clothing and household items probably began soon after woven cloth appeared, but the practice was limited to the wealthier classes. The absence of running water and the high cost of soap made it difficult for most people to wash regularly. As social historian Lawrence Stone notes, in the eighteenth century, "the poor were very much dirtier than the rich." Lower-middle and lower classes of the late eighteenth century changed bed sheets no more than three times yearly, and women wore quilted petticoats that they never washed, replacing them only when they had almost fallen apart.

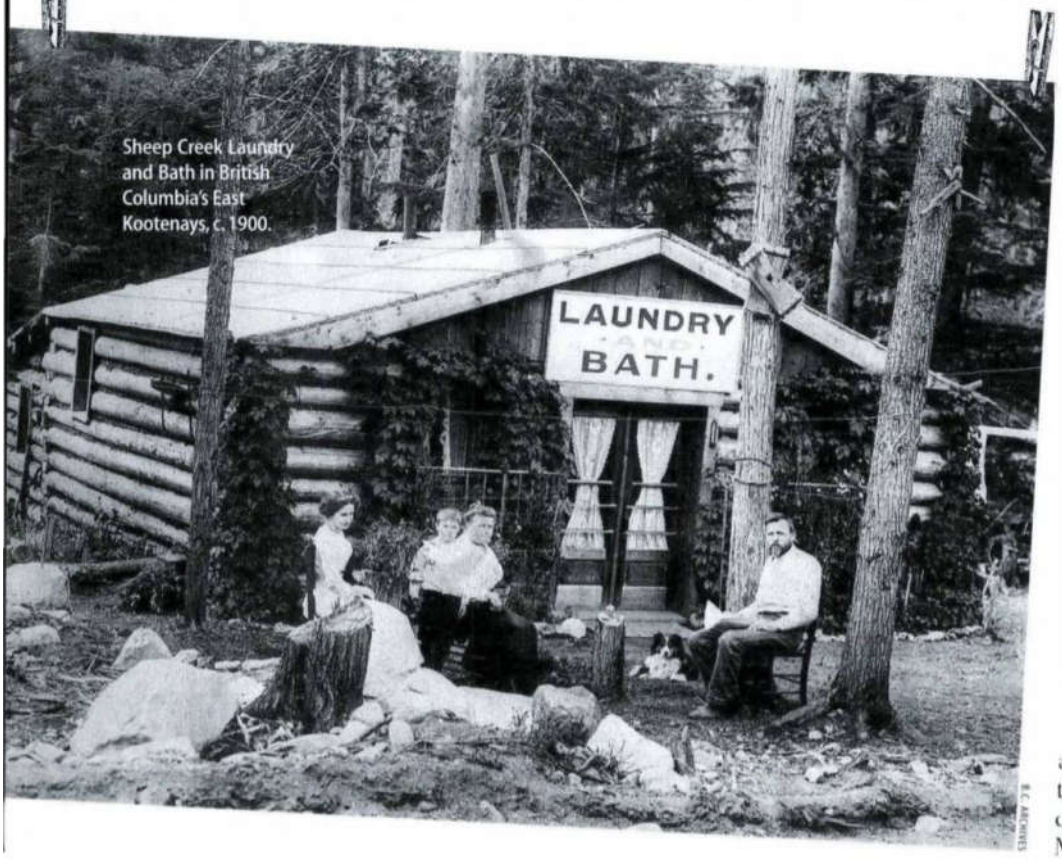
Standards of personal cleanliness changed in the nineteenth century when cash wages and cheap manufactured goods, including easy-to-care-for cotton clothing, became available. In addition, the cult of respectability took hold, with its notions of cleanliness and godliness. In established communities in both Europe and North America, high standards of cleanliness could be adopted readily by those who had the inclination and the means. But the situation in the pioneer homes of Upper Canada posed some problems. As Jane Errington points out in her study of working women in Upper Canada, early settlers often found it difficult to obtain new clothes or the fabrics with which to make them, so extra effort went into ensuring that garments lasted as long as possible. An essential part of this process was regular washing, which usually took place on Monday or Tuesday, sometimes weekly, sometimes less often.

Genteel pioneer women had to compromise between the expectations that prevailed at home and the realities of frontier life. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the frequency with which a wash was done was directly related to social status. Upper-class households could afford larger wardrobes, and so washed every four months, or in some cases, even once a year. To wash clothes more frequently than every six weeks suggested poverty. At the same time, well-to-do nineteenth-century women wore their dresses several times before laundering them, since their outer clothing did not come into direct contact with the body. They were, however, encouraged to change their undergarments frequently, with some ladies' magazines suggesting fresh linen every time a woman changed dresses throughout the day.

Before washing could begin, extensive preparations had to be made. In pioneer communities, women usually made their own lye and soap, even when commercial products were available. Partly this was due to lack of ready cash, but it was also a matter of personal pride. Lye, a strong alkali concocted from wood ash and bones, was difficult to produce. As late as 1848 American household manual author Catharine E. Beecher included instructions for preparing and testing lye. A batch of lye that was too strong could be diluted with water, she reported, but the only remedy for lye that was too weak was to start over. Soap, made from lye and animal fat, could be difficult to produce, too. In *The Backwoods of Canada*, Catharine Parr Traill talks about the mystery of the process, noting that even experienced

The only washing machines were the ordinary wash tubs ... and the brawny arms and hands of the girls; and the only wringers were the strong wrists and firm grip that could give a vigorous twist to what passed through their hands.

— Caniff Haight, *Country Life in Canada*



Sheep Creek Laundry and Bath in British Columbia's East Kootenays, c. 1900.

B.C. ARCHIVES

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 153474

Mechanical clothes dryers were used in England and France in the early 1800s. In one early version, clothes that had been wrung by hand were placed in a cylindrical drum punctuated by holes or slits, and turned by hand over a fire. The clothes would dry out, but they usually smelled strongly of smoke and risked being burned. Electrical clothes dryers started to appear around 1915, but it wasn't until the 1960s that the automatic dryer became common in Canadian households. Until then, most laundered clothes, like the ones at right, were hung and dried outdoors.

servants weren't sure why some batches turned out and others did not.

Laundry equipment was rudimentary. In *Country Life in Canada*, Caniff Haight remarked, "The only washing machines were the ordinary wash tubs ... and the brawny arms and hands of the girls; and the only wringers were the strong wrists and firm grip that could give a vigorous twist to what passed through their hands." Mrs. Beecher's 1848 list of equipment included four tubs of different sizes, a large wooden dipper, two or three pails, a washboard, clothesline, a stick for moving clothes when boiling, a fork to take them out, and a copper kettle. Most pioneer households probably had fewer tubs and pails, an iron kettle (which rusted more quickly than copper and so was more likely to stain clothing), plus a washboard, and possibly a dolly-stick or pounder – an instrument resembling a three-legged wooden stool with a handle attached that was used to force water through clothing.

Hauling water for the wash was one of the most onerous steps involved, which was why women hired help specifically for washdays. Some domestic servants handled a range of chores, but a number specialized as washerwomen. Writing in 1837, William Mills of Port Maitland, at the mouth of Ontario's Grand River, noted that Dederika Memlingh Johnson, wife of a retired East India Company engineer, hired a woman to help with the wash. "Washing is the most lucrative trade possible here," Mills reported. The laundress, who worked for other women as well as Mrs. Johnson, earned about $20 a month. Nearly forty years later, teenage diarist Hattie Bowlby of Port Dover reported that her mother sometimes brought in a Mrs. Stoneman to help with the wash.

The actual process of washing involved three steps – soaking, scrubbing, and boiling. Soaking might start two or three days before washday, although this created problems in warm weather when the water quickly went stagnant. Stains might be treated just before or after this stage, using compounds that included everything from vinegar, onions, and buttermilk to chemicals like oxalic acid. Usually, though, the tried-and-true method was to scrub with a brush or on a washboard. Even this seemingly simple task required a certain skill, as Susanna Moodie discovered when her servant was away visiting family and she decided to tackle some "small baby articles" herself.

"After making a great preparation, I determined to try my unskilled hand upon the operation. The fact is, I knew nothing about the task I had imposed upon myself, and in a few minutes rubbed the skin off my wrists, without getting the clothes clean."

Once the scrubbing was complete, it was time to boil the laundry. Here, again, knowledge and skill were essential if clothing was to be kept in good condition. Wool could not be boiled, and might turn into a hard, feltlike fabric if not washed rapidly in cool water. Most clothes were not colourfast, and had to be sorted and washed separately. Buckskin items, which formed part of some early settlers' wardrobes, posed other problems, as Polly (or Poll) Sprague of Port Ryerse, Ontario, found out in the early 1800s. One day Polly was left alone in the family cabin with instructions from her mother to wash her only garment, a buckskin shift. Polly recalled seeing her mother boil her father's and brother's shirts in a strong lye solution, and according to neighbour Amelia Harris Ryerse's account, Polly "subjected her leather slip to the same process. ... When Poll took her slip from the pot it was a shrivelled-up mass, partly

decomposed by the strong ley [*sic*]." With no change of clothing, Polly was forced to hide in the potato hole under the cabin floor until her mother returned and gave her one of her own woollen slips.

Clothing that could be boiled was usually kept in water for about an hour, stirred with a long stick, removed with a fork, rinsed, and hung to dry. Pioneer housewives used bushes, fences, and other handy locations, a practice that was still common among European agricultural communities in the mid-nineteenth century. Some had clotheslines, which usually had to be held up by a forked stick at various points in order to keep laundry from trailing on the ground. Drying clothing outdoors had advantages – both sun and frost helped to whiten items – but it also meant that laundry might take several days to dry in wet weather. There were also occasional hazards, including local wildlife. In *Sketches of Upper Canada*, published in 1821, John Howison recounts the story of a woman who sent her daughter to hang clothes on some nearby bushes. When she stayed away too long, her mother investigated and found her "pale, motionless. ... The sweat rolled down her brow, and her hands ... clenched convulsively." Her gaze was fixed on a nearby log, where a large rattlesnake was swaying menacingly. The mother was able to drive the reptile away with a stick, but doing the wash was probably an anxiety-inducing experience for the girl for a long time afterward.

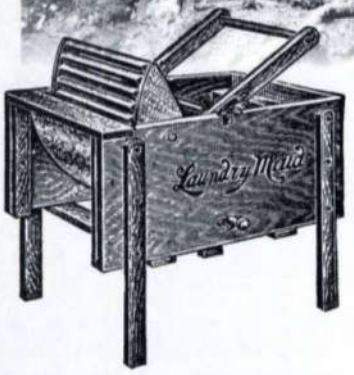
Snakes and bad weather may have made drying clothes indoors seem attractive, but few cabins were large enough to comfortably accommodate a family's wash along with all the other household activities.

Labour Saving Machines?

During the First World War, farmers were called on to increase production to help the war effort. Their wives were also expected to pitch in, but found themselves wondering how to do this and still handle household chores.

In March 1918, one possible solution was proposed by Katherine Kent in the women's page of the Toronto *Globe*. Washing machines, she suggested, could free women for other chores, or even for taking life a little easier. Her article described the main types of machines available:

SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD / R-A 20008



Marie Leclerc washing clothes outside her Cantal, Saskatchewan house, with a washing machine operated by a small motor, c. 1921. Electric-powered washing machines, introduced a decade earlier, featured a galvanized drum-style tub and an electric motor that powered gears and a flywheel. The inner mechanism resembled a small milking stool. Dirty clothes were snagged on the wooden pegs and swished through the hot soapy water. In the 1920s, a system of forcing water through the clothes by means of an agitator rather than dragging the clothes through the water was introduced – the system most commonly used today.

The "dolly," or washboard make, which has two corrugated boards for rubbing the dirt out; the "revolving cylinder" make, which is not unlike the peanut roaster plan, an inner cage holding the clothes and revolving them through the soap and water in the outer cylinder, so many times one way, so many times the other. The "pressing" and "suction" washer has cones which come down and press the clothes, and on being lifted cause a suction which draws the dirt. The "oscillating" kind throws the clothes with the suds in a sort of cradle, and does its work by rapid agitation.

With any of these machines – and a wringer – Kent promised "you can do a large washing without being tired out" especially if there was running water and a handy drain. "About all you have to do is the planning."

Of course, women also needed to add soap – one pound soap chips and one cup ammonia to five gallons of hot water. To those who still preferred to boil their clothes, Kent suggested pouring boiling water over the suds as a time-saving measure. Then it was simply a matter of wringing the clothes out, rinsing again, adding bluing, and when the wash was done making sure the washing machine was clean and well oiled. ◘

Domestic Life

Margaret Hyde (below), domestic for the James Ballantyne family of Ottawa East, irons clothes in 1892. Before industrialization, washerwomen may have enjoyed a higher status than many domestic servants or farm labourers. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women in Aix-en-Provence were earning twelve sous a day for laundering, compared to eight sous a day for field work. In the 1830s, William Mills of Port Maitland reported that Upper Canadian washerwomen were well paid. Thirty years later in his native Britain, washerwomen were paid two shillings per day, plus food and beer (more if meals were not provided), and they only handled the actual washing. Preparation, assembly of equipment, wringing, ironing, and other tasks were the work of other servants or the women of the households.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / PA 121939

There is considerable evidence that at certain times and in certain places washerwomen could set the conditions of their employment, move freely from household to household, and earn more than other domestics. However, studies of British and French washerwomen in the late nineteenth century reveal they worked long hours for little pay in terrible conditions, especially in commercial laundries. The downward slide in their working conditions seems to be directly related to industrialization.

Besides, during much of the pioneer era, washing was a primarily outdoor activity, and quite messy in the bargain. Feet and clothing got very wet, making washday sheer misery in the colder weather. Although British women may have imported the practice of wearing heavy aprons and patens (metal rings that elevated shoes off the ground), they still had to contend with the heat and humidity, the constant exposure to hot water, soap, and other laundry aids that ruined hands, and the lifting involved in filling, emptying, and refilling tubs. One study showed that 75 per cent of late nineteenth-century French laundresses suffered hernias, and many housewives probably suffered similar injuries. They weren't the only family members at risk: The fire, scalding hot water, and caustic cleaners necessary to a nineteenth-century wash were dangerous to young children, who were invariably underfoot.

As the Upper Canadian frontier disappeared, settlements grew larger and various luxuries became increasingly available. But laundry continued to be done in much the same way as it had in the pioneer era. Margaret Ann (Stewart) Ritter recalled as a child helping her grandmother with the laundry in Dunnville around 1920. Although the household had running water, washing was still a chore. A heavy copper laundry tub was placed across two burners on the gas stove, and then pails of water were poured in. Soap powder was added, the gas jets were turned on, and the mixture was brought to a boil. Then the clothes were added and stirred with a big wooden stick for about an hour. Once the clothes were clean, they were put into a wash pan and the hot water was ladled out of the laundry tub until it was light enough to be lifted and emptied. It was then filled again in order to rinse the clothes. After this was done, the tub had to be emptied once more. Though Margaret remembered her grandmother wringing the clothes by hand, most households by this time had a mangle, or wringer, which could be attached to a tub and reduced the effort involved in wringing clothes.

Many attempts were made to develop washing machines throughout the nineteenth century. Between 1804 and 1873, 1,667 patents were issued in the United States for washing machines. Canadian patents were not issued until 1824, but the very first was for a "Washing and Fulling Machine." Over the next forty-five years, sixty-three Canadian patents were granted for improvements in washing machines. Most developments were designed to make repetitive tasks somewhat easier. One early washing machine simply borrowed the idea of the washboard, made it cylindrical, and attached a crank to turn it. An early wringing device involved a bag into which clothes were placed. The bag was clamped at either end and one of the clamps twisted by a handle, forcing water out of the clothes in the process. Most of the early designs were rejected because they damaged clothes or were so cumbersome to operate that even servants refused to use them.

When washing machines existed, however, there was no guarantee they would get into the hands of the women who needed them. *Much To Be Done*, Frances Hoffman and Ryan Taylor's examination of domestic chores in Victorian Ontario, includes the recollections of Mary Hutchinson Orr of Nichol Township, Wellington County:

> *The first we ever heard of was through an agent who called. He met father at the gate and asked if he could sell him a machine. Father said he had two very good ones in the house. He wanted to know what make they were and father said he had better come in and see. So he brought him in to where sister Sara and I were busy with tubs and boards.*

William Hutchinson probably had little concept of how burdensome the family wash could be. While the responsibility might have been appealing when young women first took on the task, the novelty soon wore off. Matilda Bowers Eby of Berlin (later Kitchener), Ontario, whose diary is

NO WONDER HE'S PROUD OF HIS WIFE—by WILL GREFÉ
AND WHEN WE'RE MARRIED DARLING—OUR LIFE WILL BE ONE LONG HONEYMOON
THEN THEY WERE MARRIED
WELL, IF THIS IS A HONEYMOON—I'D RATHER BE SINGLE! I'VE BEEN SCRUBBING FOR HOURS AND MY BACK IS SIMPLY BROKEN
YOU'RE SO TIRED, ALICE I'M SORRY YOU HAVE TO SCRUB CLOTHES
THOSE NIGHT DRESSES—I'LL ASK MABEL—SHE KNOWS EVERYTHING
OF COURSE THERE'S AN EASIER WAY, USE RINSO! IT SOAKS OUT THE DIRT AND SAVES SCRUBBING SPARES YOUR HANDS, TOO
OH, MABEL—I'M SO GLAD IF YOU KNEW HOW I DREADED WASHDAY
NEXT MONDAY EVENING
YOU'RE A MARVEL, ALICE! YOU COOKED, SWEPT, CLEANED AND DID A BIG WASH TODAY—YET YOU LOOK AS FRESH AS A DAISY
I CAN THANK RINSO FOR THAT—IT GETS CLOTHES WHITE AS SNOW WITHOUT A BIT OF HARD WORK. IT MAKES DISH-WASHING EASY, TOO
"My clothes are whiter than ever!" says Mrs. Marie Brands of Calgary
"I CAN'T say how pleased I am with Rinso. I did all the washing listed below with one large package and also washed the dishes thirty times.
1 bed spread
2 bureau scarfs
2 face cloths
2 pillow cases
10 nightclothes
4 pairs underwear
7 singlets
7 shorts
12 dresses
7 aprons
7 towels
4 table cloths
[illegible]
2 pyjamas
7 pairs men's socks
"My clothes are whiter than ever and my coloured dresses look so fresh as new. I am surprised to see how far one package of Rinso goes."
Cup for cup, Rinso gives twice as much suds as lightweight, puffed-up soaps. Makers of 23 Canadian washers recommend it. Wonderful for dishes and all cleaning. Get the BIG package today.
Millions use Rinso—it's so easy on the hands
Rinso
THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

A Rinso ad (above) from the February 1934 edition of *Chatelaine*. Like many advertisements for soap powder of the day, emphasis was on relief from the drudgery of laundering clothes. Whiteness and brightness were secondary concerns.

It's Procter & Gamble's
MIRACLE!
Tide
TIDES IN—DIRT'S OUT!
PROCTER & GAMBLE GUARANTEES EVERY PACKAGE OF TIDE!
OCEANS OF SUDS! NO WATER SOFTENERS NEEDED!
PROCTER & GAMBLE INC.

1949 Procter & Gamble advertisement (above) for laundry soap. Heavily advertised soap powders, which replaced cumbersome bars of laundry soap that had to be scraped and boiled before use, helped – along with the advent of automatic washers – to create an enthusiasm for spotless cleaning. Bed linens and underwear were changed more frequently; clothes were increasingly made from washable fabrics; and men's shirts no longer had replaceable collars and cuffs. In the last decades of the twentieth century, Monday was no longer washday. Every day – potentially – was washday.

also excerpted in *Much to Be Done*, wrote in January 1863, "I always like to wash" and in May 1863, "it always makes me feel well and active when I take wash-tub exercise." But by September 12, 1865 she was thoroughly tired of doing laundry. "Am extremely tired tonight. ... The poor wretched women have the same course of work to pass through week, after week, no wonder if they would get tired of it." In some households, washdays upset the normal routine, taking up so much time and energy that it was nearly impossible to serve regular meals, even with live-in domestic help.

Yet there were also enjoyable aspects of washing. Ruth Rushton, born in 1908 and raised on a farm on the north shore of Lake Erie, fondly recalled laughing with her mother "in the airy woodshed in summer." Sometimes, washing could be a community social event. In 1927, Mary E. Wilson wrote an account of washday around 1852 at Mount Olivet, near Cayuga, Ontario, when several women gathered around a pond in the woods to do the family washing:

> *There would be the Lanes, Smiths, and the different Wilson families, and they had a big black iron pot hung up, in which to heat the water which was soft ... Ellen Smith ... had a white muslin dress with blue flowers in it, that she used to wash there ... the girls always had quite a sociable time while the clothes were drying, although the Wilson girls usually took theirs home in a basket on a wheelbarrow and hung them on a line to dry.*

A household supply of water and other amenities soon put an end to communal washdays. By the time Margaret Ritter and Ruth Rushton were helping with the family wash, women were demanding and getting better laundry equipment. Some took advantage of the new commercial laundries that were accessible in even the smallest towns. Port Dover, for example, with a population of less than 1,200 in 1900, had an agent for the Parisian Steam Laundry in Brantford, eighty kilometres north. Clothing was sent to Brantford by train. And in Western Canada especially, laundries operated by former Chinese railways workers further commercialized the practice.

By the end of the First World War, modern equipment was helping to relieve some of the burden, but washday still required stamina and energy. Until the mid-1950s, when automatic washers became common, electric-powered washing machines had to be filled and drained by attaching hoses. Wringing involved lifting each item out of the tub and running it through motorized wringers. Many housewives continued to wash finer items by hand and hang laundry on clotheslines until the 1960s.

Today's women no longer have to worry about getting the right strength of lye, or hauling water as their grandmothers and great-grandmothers did. But those ubiquitous commercials make it clear that laundry is, as it always has been, an integral part of women's lives. 🖼

Cheryl MacDonald lives in rural Nanticoke, Ontario. Her recent books include *Who Killed George? The Ordeal of Olive Sternaman* and *Port Dover: A Place in the Sun*.

et cetera

From Mangle to Microwave: The Mechanization of Household Work by Christina Hardyment. Basil Blackwell, New York, 1988.

More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave by Ruth Schwartz Cowan. Basic Books, New York, 1983.

The Costume Museum of Canada, Dugald, Manitoba, presents the washday experience of a 100 years ago as part of its educational program. The exhibit *Milestones and Memories* illustrates a rural Manitoba woman's life in the last century. For further information, see <www.costumemuseum.com>, or call 1-866-853-2166.

by Jim Chliboyko

Canada's first wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in 1858, lured by the promise of gold-rush riches along the Fraser River. But they weren't the first Chinese to establish themselves on British Columbia's shores. Seventy years earlier, an entrepreneurial sea captain named John Meares enticed fifty Chinese artisans to Vancouver Island to build his commercial empire. That empire was fleeting, but some Chinese stayed on, though what became of them remains an enigma.

Brief Empire: *Canada's First Chinese Settlement*

Almost entirely without power, the ship limped silently towards the forested foreign shore. It had been crossing the Pacific for weeks, and finally the open ocean had come to an end. Its cargo consisted of migrants fleeing China, eager for new prospects in a place very far from home. But unbeknown to those onboard in the summer of 1999, this place, Nootka Sound, had as much to do with Chinese Canada as Main and Gore in downtown Vancouver or the Tong Ji Men (Gate of Harmonious Interest) that decorates the entrance to Victoria's Chinatown. The shores of the isolated sound on Vancouver Island's west coast were steeped in Chinese-Canadian history.

The ship eventually received a tow up the sound to Gold River. On the way it passed a storied place. Long before today's notion of *guohai*—the crossing of the ocean—fifty men from far away signed up for several months of work on this bit of land, and became the first Chinese to make Canada their home.

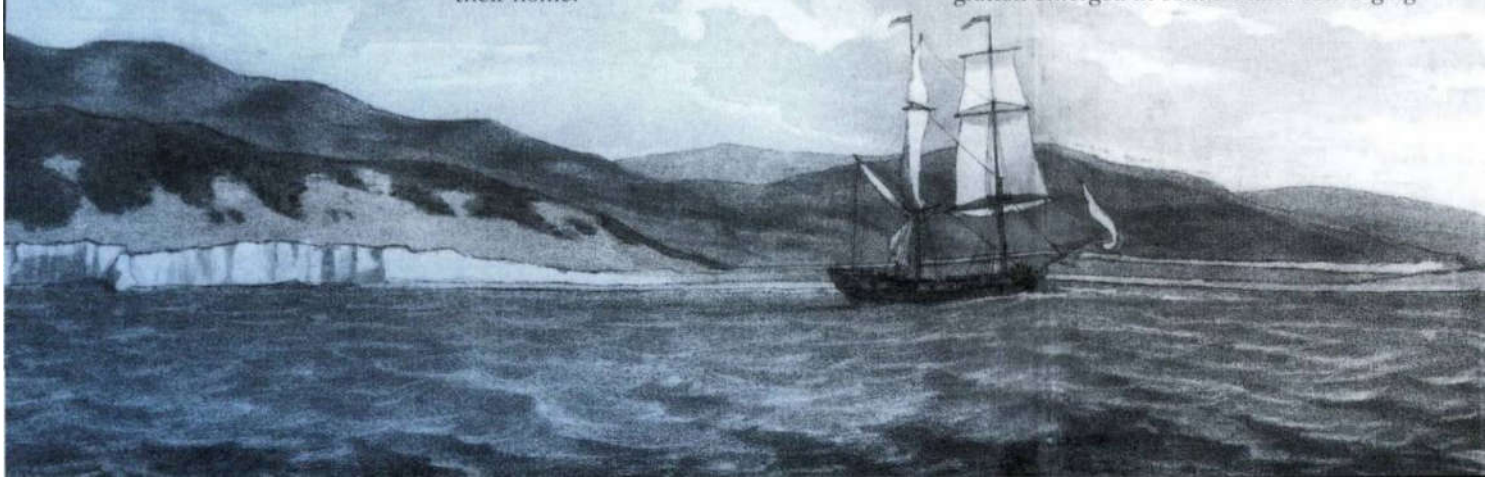
"The Chinese were, on this occasion, shipped as an experiment," writes the Englishman John Meares in his 1790 account *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America*. "They have been generally esteemed an hardy, and industrious, as well as ingenious race of people; they live on fish and rice, and, requiring but low wages, it was a matter also of economical consideration to employ them."

Meares's "experiment" was to establish an entire network of Chinese-manned outposts along the western shores of North America. The task of the Chinese would be to collect sea-otter pelts, the jewel of eighteenth-century fur traders, and be ready to accept foreign ships for shelter and repair.

Though Meares's account is highly anecdotal and articulate, what emerges is a portrait of the Chinese men as a single organism—only a couple of times does an individual's name slip out. But such a common ethnocentric attitude often gave way to high praise for his charges, in whom the enterprising Meares saw great promise as mariners and builders.

Those leaving on the Meares ships may not have been the first Chinese to the western shores of North America. Ancient Chinese texts relate the travels of five monks to "Fusang" in 459, believed by some to be the west coast of North America. Elsewhere, Spaniards are thought to have employed Chinese shipbuilders in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century California.

Meares's men were hired at the bustling river port of Canton (today's Guangzhou), the only city in China in which foreigners, by Emperor Chi'en-Lung's decree, were permitted to trade. China had been flourishing since the middle of the seventeenth century, but by Meares's day the Chinese, already 300 million in number and beginning to feel the effects of a constrained and unimaginative bureaucracy, were starting to look for opportunity in other lands. A pattern of emigration emerged in south China converging



on Canton, which was intensified in 1787 by a major regional drought. In such circumstances, hiring men was a dramatic process. Wrote Meares: "A much greater number of Chinese solicited to enter into this service than could be received; and so far did the spirit of enterprise influence them, that those were under the necessity of refusing gave the most unequivocal marks of mortification and disappointment."

Rather than an explorer, Meares to some was strictly a fur trader, but he must have been a rather dogged traveller nonetheless. Two years before, his first expedition to North America from China had been a debacle. Deeming Hawaii, a common way station, too seductive a place for his men, he overwintered in Alaska, where more than half of his forty-six-member crew was confined to bed and nine died of scurvy.

But Meares persisted, believing his ticket to glory was going to be the sea otter, the pelts of which were so desired that within 125 years the animal was almost driven to extinction.

Meares sailed for two employers: both England itself and what he called the Merchants Proprietors, bankrolled by money from, among others, Prussia's Daniel Beale, England's John Henry Cox, and Portugal's João Carvalho, whose contribution allowed the company to sail under the Portuguese flag. This helped them skirt Chinese laws against most other foreigners.

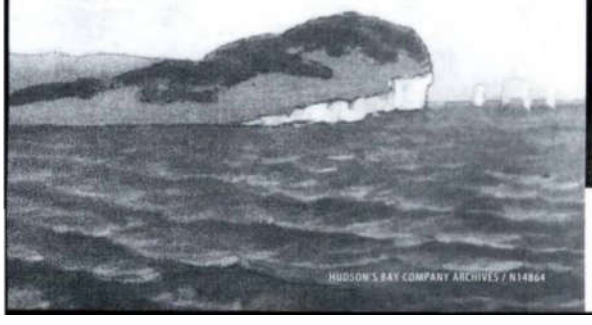
Meares's two snow-class ships, the *Felice Adventurer* and the smaller *Iphigenia Nubiana*, captained by William Douglas, departed Canton on January 22, 1788, fifty men on the *Felice*, forty on the *Iphigenia*. English and Chinese weren't the only members of Meares's crew. Also onboard was Comekala, the brother of the Nootkan chief Maquinna, and Tianna, a Hawaiian prince who had been travelling in Asia and had sought passage home. Almost as soon as they hit the open sea – sea perhaps more

Illustrations, except the frontispiece and the map below, from *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America*, by John Meares, published in 1790.

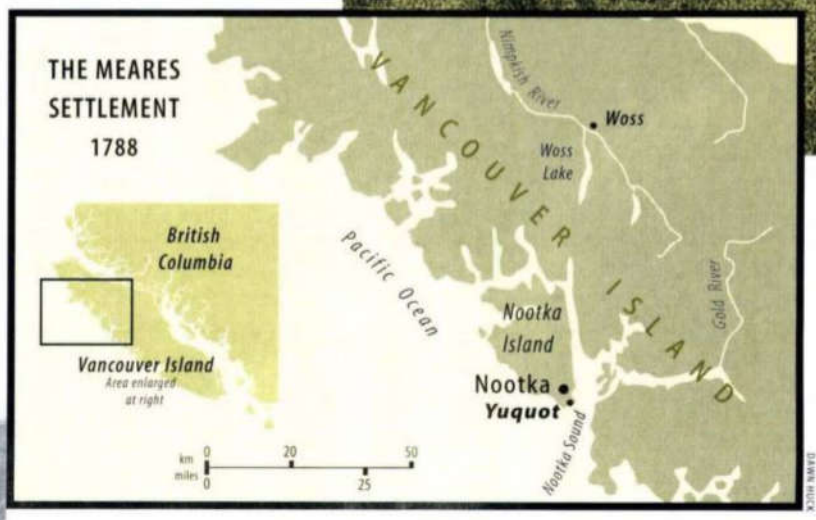
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES / N14860

John Meares (right), his birth year estimated at 1756, entered the Royal Navy in 1771. Raised to lieutenant in 1778, he left the navy five years later to form a fur trading company on the northwest coast of North America. Variously described as shrewd, brave, prevaricating, and self-promoting, Meares's attempt to found a permanent colony of Chinese on Vancouver Island met with failure. However, when Spain attempted to defend its claim to the northwest coast in 1789 and seized his otter-fur-laden ships, Meares returned to London and successfully lobbied Parliament to defend the right of British merchants to trade in the eastern Pacific. He died in 1809.

Below, left: *The Country of New Albion.* Francis Drake named the west coast of North America New Albion in 1579 during his global circumnavigation.



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES / N14864



DAWN HUCK

open than the Chinese were accustomed to – they had trouble, but of a mundane nature. "Our China crew were all extremely affected by seasickness; which was a very discouraging circumstance," wrote Meares.

At their first stop, near what is now the Philippine city of Zamboaga – ominously, considering what would befall them a year later in Spanish territory – they lost their first Chinese crewman, an artisan who strayed into the woods. "A numerous band of these savages, well-armed after their fashion, hovered about the place where the carpenters were at work," Meares wrote, "and as we could not procure any intellegences [*sic*] of this poor unfortunate man, there is but much too reason to believe he fell into the hands of natives."

While on calmer seas, the men spent most of their time preparing for their future settlement on Vancouver Island. Meares planned to build a smaller ship, as well as to construct an all-purpose "factory" building, with workshops and living quarters, as soon as they landed. At sea, the men were kept busy constructing frames for these projects.

The seas were high. During one storm, the ships lost most of their livestock and were compelled to destroy the rest. But no more men were lost. On May 11, Meares and his crew beheld the snow-capped mountains of Alaska. Days later, they arrived on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The *Felice* anchored in Captain Cook's Friendly Cove near the Nootka village of Yuquot. The Chinese, as well as the rest of the crew, slept in tents on the shore, until a proper structure could be erected.

Meares decided to locate his factory on a spot on the beach near Yuquot, "sufficiently distant so as not to interfere with their [the Nootkans'] activities."

"On the whole our house [the factory], though it was not built to satisfy a lover of architectural beauty, was admirably well calculated for the purpose to which it was destined, and appeared to be a structure of uncommon magnificence to the natives of King George's Sound."

For the Chinese, North American life was rather unglamorous, despite the surroundings and their cosmopolitan company. They were brought to work, and work they did: repairing the *Felice*, building the factory, as well as attending to the new ship Meares wanted built.

Meares had high praise for the men. "The Chinese Armourers were very ingenious and worked with such a degree of facility that we preferred them to those of Europe. The instruments they employ in their work are extremely simple and they very shortly accomplish any design that is placed before them." Though initially unfamiliar with Western maritime tradition ("the Chinese ... had not the least idea of our mode of naval architecture"), the men soon became quite proficient at both maintaining and building ships.

Just as soon as the men moved into their dwellings, and Meares became assured that the Nootkan chief Maquinna would watch over his men, he sailed southwards to explore the coast. By the time he returned in July, the new ship was close to completion, despite an unsuccessful attempt at mutiny led by a disgruntled boatswain.

A final push was made, and on September 20, days before the *Felice* was due to head back to China with the furs they had stockpiled, the new vessel was ready. Given the planning, labour, and "anxious expectation" involved in the enterprise, Meares decided to launch the ship with a dockyard ceremony. With onlookers – including sailors from the two Meares vessels, visiting Americans aboard the *Lady Washington*, the Nootka, the Hawaiian prince Tianna, and the Chinese – a gun was fired. "The vessel started from the ways like a shot. Indeed, she went off with so much velocity that she had nearly made her way out of the harbour, for the fact was, that not being very much accustomed to this business, we had forgotten to place an anchor and cable on board."

And so – with comedy – the *North West America* was born, the first ship ever built on the northwest coast, crafted by an international team of British, Nootka, and Chinese, constructed in part with wood from Nootkan trees. It might have symbolized their future cooperation. It was probably the most constructive thing the group would make. It would also be the last.

Before the Nootka departed for their winter camps up the sound, Meares told Maquinna that accompanied by more of his countrymen the following year he would be constructing additional buildings. However, the next spring at the Yuquot camp began with a bad omen – one of the Chinese seamen, Acchon Acching, fell from a tree and died, the first loss since the kidnapping in the Philippine jungle the year earlier. Then, within weeks, the Spanish ship *Princesa* appeared, followed shortly by the *San Carlos*. Captain Don Estéban Jose

From top right:
Tianna, a Prince of Atoor. This engraving is thought to be based on a portrait, since lost, by Chinese painter Spoilum, the earliest identifiable Chinese artist to work in oil on canvas for the Western market.

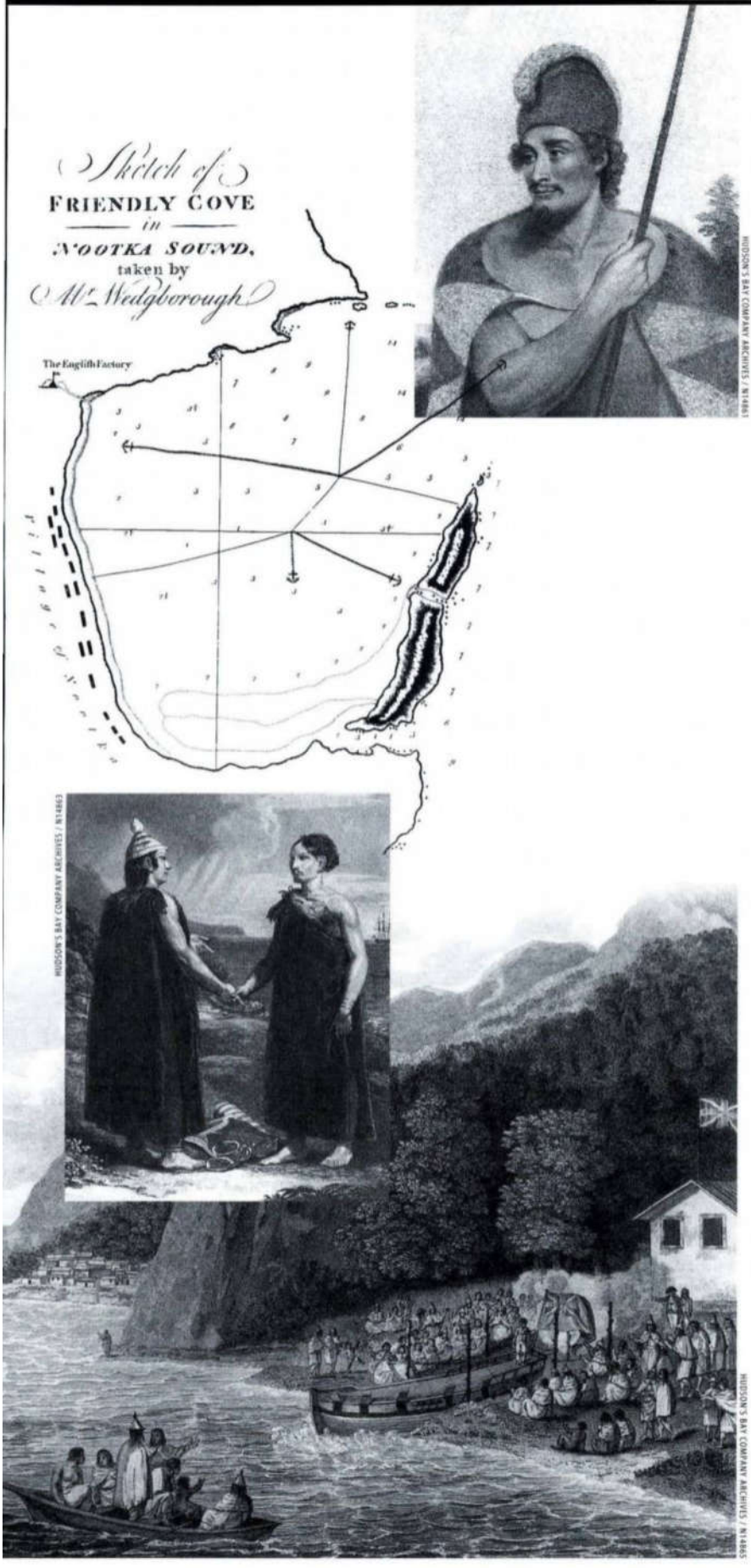
Tianna, a Hawaiian chief, a passenger on Meares's ship between Canton, China and British Columbia, was not, according to Meares's diary, favourably disposed toward some of his fellow passengers: "The natives of China he considered with a degree of disgust which bordered on extreme aversion," Meares wrote. "Whenever he found himself amongst them, that the Chinese appeared to regard him with awe, and that, whenever he turned, the timid crowd never failed to open him a ready passage."

Sketch of Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound, taken by Mr. Wedgborough. Nootka Sound was first explored in 1778 by James Cook, who named it King George's Sound, then Nootka Sound, believing this was the correct native name. The region was a centre of sea-otter fur trade, and, later, commercial competition among England, Spain, and Russia.

Callicum and Maquilla, Chiefs of Nootka Sound. Maquilla, or Maquinna as he is also known, was the ranking leader of the Moachat group of Nootka Sound natives on the west coast of Vancouver Island during the early years of European contact. Acting as a middleman in the fur trade, he also dealt with representatives in Nootka Sound of Britain and Spain, each of which claimed the territory.

The Launch of the North West America *at Nootka Sound.* The first ship ever built on the northwest coast of North America, the *North West America* almost left on the outgoing tide when it was launched. Someone had forgotten to tie the stern line.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES / N14862



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES / N14861

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES / N14863

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES / N14865

Martínez declared that the sound rightfully belonged to Spain under the terms of the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas that clarified Pope Alexander VI's 1493 bull dividing the New World between Portugal and Spain. Meares's dream of colonizing the West Coast was over before he knew it.

Within days, the Spanish seized the *Iphigenia* and its crew and built their own military fortification on an island at the head of Nootka Sound. Soon after, Martínez seized the *North West America* and the *Argonaut*, captained by James Colnett, an employee of Meares's firm, and took the ships and crews to Mexico. After Meares reported the seizures to the British government, the Nootka Sound Controversy erupted. Spain claimed the Pacific by right of the 1494 treaty. Britain argued that navigation was open to any nation and that effective occupation must back territorial claims. Both nations prepared for war.

But war never came. The French Revolution left the Spanish without valuable French support, while the British could count on The Netherlands and Prussia. King Carlos IV eventually gave in to most of the English demands, primarily the return of the seized territory. Following the third Nootka Convention of 1794, Spain and Britain agreed to share the territory jointly – neither nation could claim exclusive sovereignty or build permanent forts. Meares's dream of a permanent settlement was over.

Meares died in 1809. Except for his own accounts of his voyages, little is known about his life, including his marital status, age at death, and beneficiaries of his estate.

The *North West America* became a Spanish vessel. Renamed the *Santa Gertrudis la Magna* (and later, the *Santa Saturnina*), it was used by the Spanish to further explore the inlets, straits, and sounds of the West Coast.

As for the Chinese, their fate remains unclear. Some of them are believed to have returned to China (one ship-jumper even became the first Chinese-Hawaiian), while an undetermined number of them were "lost" – something for which Meares was fined by the Chinese government. The rest are thought to have integrated into Vancouver Island's native communities. Sailors on an American ship, the *Jefferson*, anchored at Nootka Sound five years after the controversy, reported that the Chinese were productive members of local society. Forty years later, Hudson's Bay employees

stationed at Fort Nisquallie reported the men still there.

According to local native stories, the Chinese prospered, though they were held in suspicion by some of the Nootka. Other stories say a series of attacks drove them into the interior, where they settled with their Nootkan women in the area around today's Woss Lake.

In 1852, Hamilton Moffat, a Hudson's Bay Company employee from Prince Rupert travelling on Vancouver Island's east coast, heard tales of a settlement of fifty or sixty Chinese inland from the mouth of Nimpkish River, into which Woss Lake drains. According to a 1939 article about Moffat in the Vancouver *Province*, he believed that these mysterious men, though living on an island settled by a maritime people, had "no canoes or connection with the sea coast whatsoever. They were named the Saa Kaalituck and spoke the Nootkan tongue."

In 1868, George Sproat documented in *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* what he thought was evidence of Chinese-Nootkan intermarriage: "Some of the Chinese workmen brought to Nootkah eighty years ago by Meares, have no doubt left descendants among the Ahts. One occasionally sees an Indian with eyes distinctly Chinese." Confident of his observations, he offered this further evidence: "The practice of tying the hair behind the head in the Chinese fashion is said to be peculiar to the natives on the outside coast of the island."

According to Anthony Chan in his 1983 history of the Chinese in the New World, *Gold Mountain*, "The children of the [Chinese men's] union with native women became ... less Chinese and more indigenous in culture and language. Before long, traces of any Chinese cultural lineage were wiped out."

But the village of Yuquot was not wiped out. To this day, it still stands, as it has for thousands of years. It is a living Nootka First Nations village and a Canadian National Heritage Site.

And if one stood on the beach there in the summer of 1999, perhaps where the English factory once stood or the spot from which *North West America* had been launched, one may have seen a decrepit, unnamed ship getting a Coast Guard tow further up the sound to Gold River. This ship, too, carried Chinese passengers, 211 years after the unfortunate Acchon Acching and his countrymen arrived in Canada. Perhaps they were as hopeful as the ones who had accompanied Meares.

Jim Chiliboyko is a Port Moody, B.C. writer and broadcaster.

et cetera

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by Shane Peacock In April 1951, in one of th

defenceman Bill Barilko scores the goal tha

Four months later he disappears in the northern Ontari

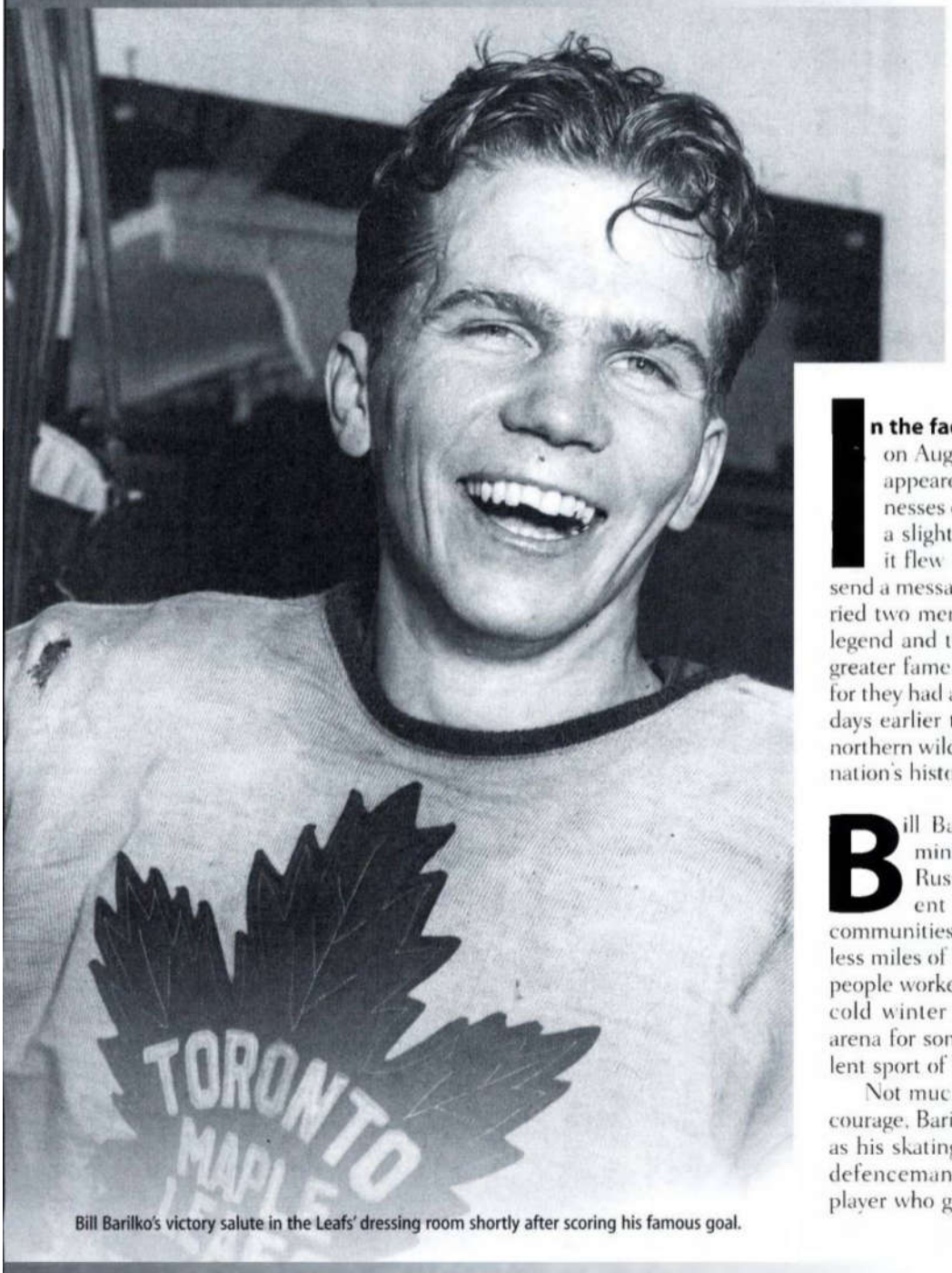
MICHAEL BURNS

most dramatic moments in hockey history,

The Mystery of the Missing Hockey Star

takes the Stanley Cup for the Maple Leafs.

wilderness and the mystery begins ...

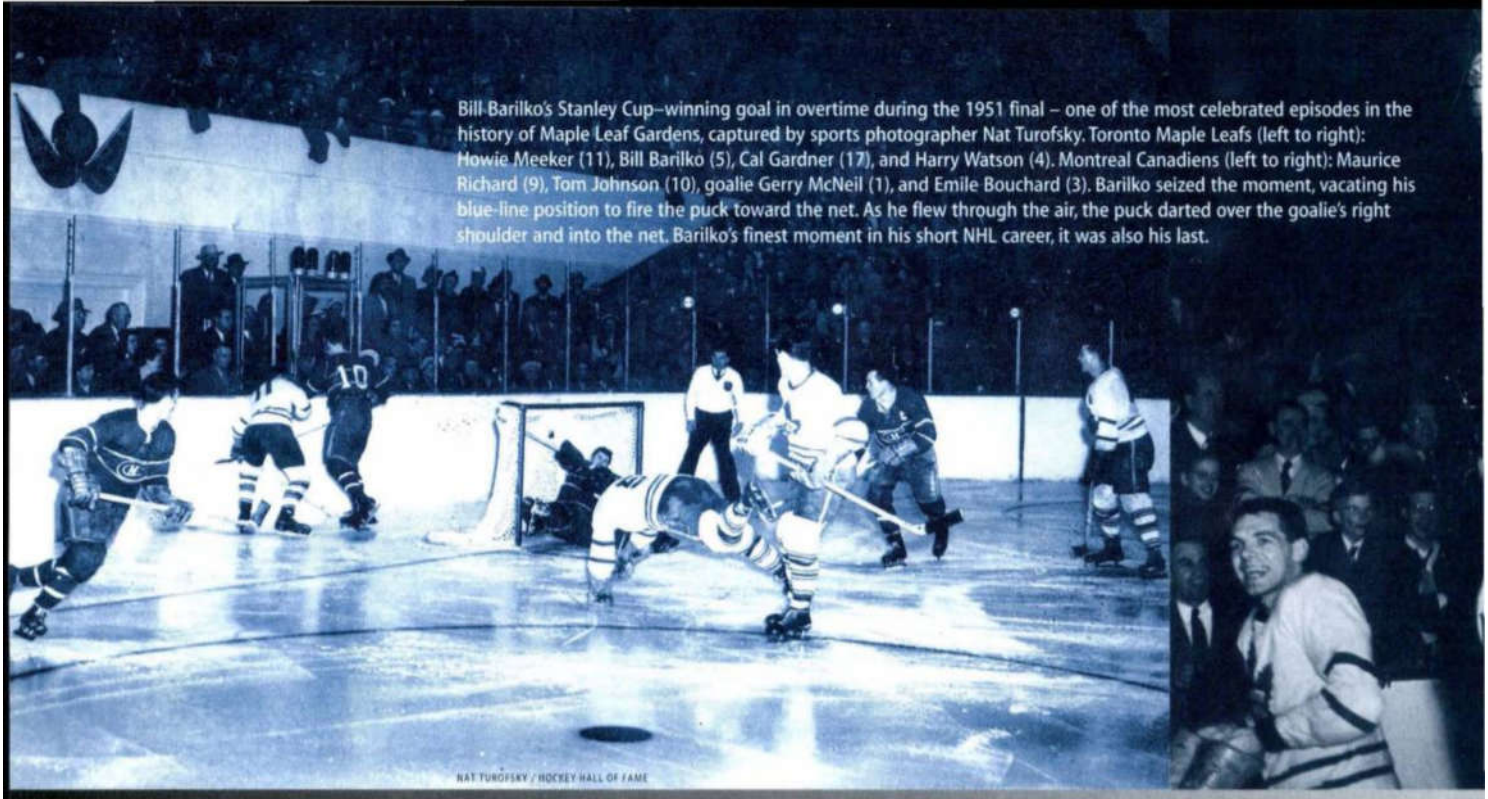


Bill Barilko's victory salute in the Leafs' dressing room shortly after scoring his famous goal.

In the fading light of a northern night on August 28, 1951, a phantom plane appeared over Timmins, Ontario. Witnesses claimed it was yellow, one wing a slightly different shade, and that as it flew by it gunned its engine as if to send a message. Speculation was that it carried two men. One was a young Canadian legend and the other bore a name of even greater fame. But these men were ghosts – for they had already vanished from life. Two days earlier they had disappeared into the northern wilderness and become part of our nation's history and an enduring mystery.

Bill Barilko was born in this gold-mining town in 1927 to parents of Russian heritage. It was no different than many other northern communities of that era, carved out of endless miles of coniferous trees and rock. The people worked hard, stuck together, and on cold winter nights gathered at the local arena for some release: in the fast and violent sport of hockey.

Not much of a skater but always full of courage, Barilko started as a goaltender. But as his skating skills improved he became a defenceman, a bashing, daring, spirited player who gave every team he ever played



Bill Barilko's Stanley Cup–winning goal in overtime during the 1951 final – one of the most celebrated episodes in the history of Maple Leaf Gardens, captured by sports photographer Nat Turofsky. Toronto Maple Leafs (left to right): Howie Meeker (11), Bill Barilko (5), Cal Gardner (17), and Harry Watson (4). Montreal Canadiens (left to right): Maurice Richard (9), Tom Johnson (10), goalie Gerry McNeil (1), and Emile Bouchard (3). Barilko seized the moment, vacating his blue-line position to fire the puck toward the net. As he flew through the air, the puck darted over the goalie's right shoulder and into the net. Barilko's finest moment in his short NHL career, it was also his last.

NAT TUROFSKY / HOCKEY HALL OF FAME

Just nineteen years old, he entered the dressing room for his first practice, glanced at the slumping team ... and boldly announced, "Boys, the sun is shining!"

for immeasurable spine. Ascending to the local junior team in his teens he was spotted by a scout from the Toronto Maple Leafs, who admired, above all, his evident and shining pluck. Big, blond, and smiling, he stood out like some sort of hero, fated for something extraordinary.

By age eighteen, he was in Hollywood. There he played for the lowest of the Leafs' three farm teams – the Wolves, new members of the Pacific Coast League – in the city of dreams but far from the big time. Barilko quickly made an impression. He loved to knock down any opponent who dared to enter his end of the rink, not just into the boards, but often, it seemed, right through them.

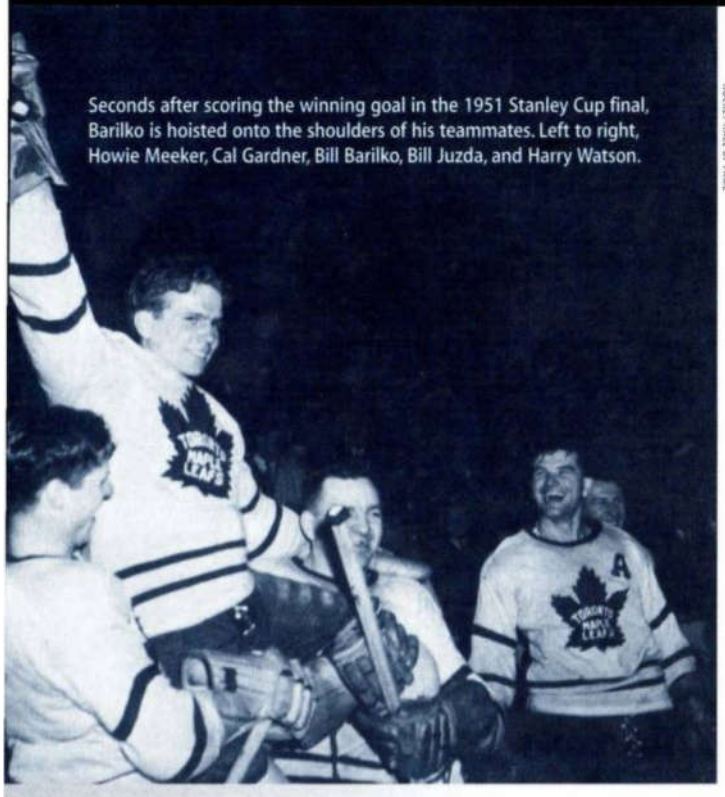
When the Leafs convened at St. Catharine's, Ontario for their 1946–47 training camp, they were in a rebuilding stage, despite having won the Stanley Cup just two seasons earlier. An astounding six rookies would make the team, among them the speedy, effervescent Howie Meeker and half their defence. Barilko was deemed green, despite an intimidating presence, and was returned to Los Angeles. But the big club kept its eyes on him.

The new year rolled in and the team was doing well until late in January; injuries began to plague them and they stumbled. Soon they were down to three defencemen and fans waited to see which veteran defender would be promoted from their top farm team in Pittsburgh. Then a surprising and inspired choice was made by the Leafs' irascible owner and general manager, Conn Smythe, one he would never regret, but that, in its own way, would always haunt him. He asked for Bill Barilko.

By plane, train, and taxi, he came to save them, almost crossing the continent from southwest to northeast. When he finally arrived, on February 3, 1947, Toronto was blanketed in one of the worst snowstorms in decades. Just nineteen years old, he entered the dressing room for his first practice, glanced at the slumping team and legends like Turk Broda, Syl Apps, and Teeder Kennedy, and boldly announced, "Boys, the sun is shining!"

Almost from that moment onward they became champions of unprecedented achievement.

His first game was in Montreal against mighty archenemies the Canadiens. The Leafs were savaged 8–2 on the score sheet, undone by another Rocket Richard attack. But under the surface something else seemed at play. Smythe, upset by his



Seconds after scoring the winning goal in the 1951 Stanley Cup final, Barilko is hoisted onto the shoulders of his teammates. Left to right, Howie Meeker, Cal Gardner, Bill Barilko, Bill Juzda, and Harry Watson.

HOCKEY HALL OF FAME

team's recent timidity, was not displeased with what he saw, and especially with his new recruit. Barilko stood his ground like he would die for the cause. Instead of shying away from the terrorizing Richard, he seemed to seek him out, anxious to flatten him and his team. Big Montreal captain Butch Bouchard, used to having his way with many opponents, collided with Barilko and turned on him as if to destroy the youngster's spirit before it grew. But instantly the teenager was facing him, anxious to do battle. The next day the Toronto papers took note. And so did his teammates.

They won their next game, against Boston, and Barilko scored. Throughout the rest of the schedule he had his ups and downs, but he never retreated and kept improving his play. The playoffs began, and the Leafs rolled over the Detroit Red Wings and young Gordie Howe into the finals. There they encountered the Canadiens: Richard, Bouchard, Elmer Lach, Toe Blake, and ambidextrous Hall-of-Fame goalie Bill Durnan, he who had exclaimed to the press that he could not fathom how Toronto had even made it to the playoffs.

Durnan would eat his words. Storming back from a 6–0 first game loss, the Leafs took the series in six games, winning the Stanley Cup on home ice in front of their adoring fans to become the youngest champions ever.

That season and the three that followed were virtually ruled by the Toronto Maple Leafs. Youthful, swashbuckling, and violent, they were English Canada's team, their games broadcast nationwide by the legendary Foster Hewitt. In 1947–48, Barilko led the league in penalty minutes, scrapped with anyone who tested him, and kept administering those thundering bodychecks. "If he got a piece of you," said a teammate later on, "you hurt for a week. He just tore you up." Enemy Montreal boss Dick Irvin despised him. "I hate that Barilko so much," he once said. "I sure wish we had him with Canadiens."

Off the ice he never seemed to stop smiling and was the team's practical joker. He called himself "the Kid" and exuded confidence. In both good times and bad he told his teammates, "Don't worry about the Kid." The optimism was infectious.

Even in the midst of battle his sense of humour was evident. Just before delivering bone-rattling hits he would warn his opponents. "Boop-boop," he would say ... and then flatten them. An early proponent of the slapshot, he could also score goals, usually in key games. In the playoffs, he excelled.

Two more consecutive Stanley Cup victories followed, making the Leafs the first team to win three in a row. In 1949–50 they seemed poised to win a fourth when, in the seventh and deciding game of the semifinals, they lost to Detroit in overtime. A shot from a distance drifted towards the Leaf goal, hit a body, and went in, ending the dynasty. The puck had struck number 5 ... Bill Barilko.

The team rebounded for the 1950–51 season and found themselves in the finals against the Canadiens. It would be French Canada versus English in, arguably, the greatest Stanley Cup final ever. All games went into overtime, something never seen before or since. Richard got one winner, the Leafs' Sid Smith, Kennedy, and Harry Watson the others, as Toronto went ahead three games to one. Another win would mean victory. The nation was gripped by the confrontation. The game had never been played like this. And the stage was set for a moment that will be remembered, said one journalist, "as long as hockey is recalled."

On April 21, 1951, Montreal and Toronto were locked in the most titanic struggle of nearly forty years of competition. Maple Leaf Gardens was packed. Going into the final minute, Montreal led 2–1, but with 32 seconds left the Leafs tied the score in dramatic fashion. The crowd, hoarse from a thrilling, tension-filled game, went wild. But the climax was still to come.

The Leafs came out of their dressing rooms on fire and began pressing the Canadiens, trying to finish them. Soon they had them reeling. Meeker, bursting into the Montreal end on right wing, gathered up a pass from Watson and sailed behind the net and out the other side, trying to jam the puck in from there. But goalie Gerry McNeil made the save and fell. The puck bounced back to Meeker. As big Habs' defenceman Tom Johnson rushed towards him and nailed him up against the end boards, he deftly poked the puck out towards the goal crease. It came right to Watson in front. He shot. McNeil, still getting up, stretched sideways to stop it. But the puck hit the Canadiens' Bouchard and squirted towards uncovered Leaf centre Cal Gardner. He would have a clear shot, and McNeil was out of position. Bouchard couldn't reach him; neither could nearby Rocket Richard. But as Gardner eyed the puck, a sort of apparition appeared on the scene. Two minutes and fifty-three seconds had elapsed in overtime.

This was in the days before hockey was televised, but an

old Gardens' film has preserved the moment. As the puck comes towards Gardner, he and six other men are in the frame – Meeker, Johnson, Richard, Bouchard, Watson, and goaltender McNeil. Then a flash begins entering. First a stick, then a big, bold body: "Bashing Bill" Barilko. Against all good sense, he vacates his blueline position and seizes his moment. He takes the puck on his backhand and fires a bullet towards the net, falling as he does. Airborne, he watches the puck dart over the falling McNeil's right shoulder and into the net. Flashbulbs go off; light fills the Gardens for split seconds. One light belongs to Nat Turofsky, the hockey photographer who would record many feats but never one greater than this. His photo of Barilko scoring as he flies through the air is one of the most famous in sports history.

The Gardens erupt as never before. The sound from the crowd is so enormous that a journalist turns to another at his elbow and can't be heard. He scribbles on a scrap of paper: "If the man from Mars were to walk in here, what would he think?"

Barilko is lifted onto the shoulders of his teammates, the Stanley Cup is brought to centre ice, Captain Kennedy proclaims this his greatest thrill in hockey. The crowd keeps roaring, refusing to leave; the band plays "Auld Lang Syne." Across the nation, listeners sit by their radios, enthralled.

"Hollywood Bill" Barilko has produced a classic Canadian moment. He is twenty-four years old. He has been in the NHL for four and a half years and won four Stanley Cups.

And he will never play hockey again.

Four months later, on Friday, August 24, he has an argument with his mother Fay in Timmins. As daring in life as his dart from the blueline against the Canadiens, he is always in search of adventure. He is preparing to go fishing on Seal River, where James Bay meets Hudson Bay in near-arctic Quebec, and will fly with a local dentist who is an amateur pilot. But Mrs. Barilko lost her husband on a Friday and the day haunts her. She has a premonition of danger and begs Bill to go another time. Within hours he is gone.

On the morning of August 27, his sister Anne receives a phone call from a friend. Bill and his pilot, expected to have returned the previous evening, are twelve hours overdue. The day lengthens. Worry turns to fear. Several local pilots take to the air, scouring the vast wilderness below the lost plane's route to the north. Area media get word, and by August 28, the news is spreading nationwide. The next day all the Toronto papers run front-page headlines, photos, and extensive articles. BARILKO LOST IN NORTHERN WILDS, says *The Daily Star*. The *Globe and Mail* ominously reports that bad weather is descending upon the James Bay region. And the *Evening Telegram* shouts in big, bold letters BARILKO ALIVE. The report would prove false.

In Timmins, Fay Barilko is inconsolable. She is found wandering the streets in a heavy downpour, drenched to the skin.

By August 28, the Ontario Provincial Police are involved, as is the Royal Canadian Air Force Rescue Coordination Centre in Trenton, Ontario. The formal search begins the next day. Headquarters are set up at the little airport in Kapuskasing, a pulp-and-paper town on Highway 11 in the north. This will be the largest search-and-rescue operation in Canadian history.

Right from the outset the entire story is engulfed in an aura of mystery. Even the names involved seem from a *Twilight Zone* episode. Blond, twenty-four-year-old Barilko has vanished in a yellow plane called a Fairchild 24. In 1611, Henry Hudson disappeared in the same area, cast adrift by a mutinous crew, floating away into an enduring Canadian mystery. Three hundred and forty years later Barilko's plane is piloted by his friend the dentist, Dr. ... Henry Hudson.

Clues seem endless and reports of sightings are many. A hydro crew working near the Ontario Northland Railway line near Coral Rapids north of Cochrane saw a light in the sky on the evening of August 26, like the light of a small aircraft. The next day a bush pilot spots smoke rising from the same vicinity. But when the RCAF blanket the area "tree by tree" and "inch by inch," they find nothing. Cree people are asked to help search the James Bay coast. Some report having seen the plane just south of Rupert House near the Nottaway River. That area is soon combed, to no avail.

The number of planes made available grows from four, to ten, to seventeen, to twenty. They search north of Timmins, north of Cochrane, northwest of Kapuskasing, above the waters of James Bay, on subarctic islands, and in northwestern Quebec. Nothing. The area covered grows to more than 500,000 square kilometres. The *Globe and Mail* runs six front-page stories in two weeks. All rumours and evidence are thoroughly investigated, the tiniest bush fires are checked, empty canoes and tepees are searched. Nothing.

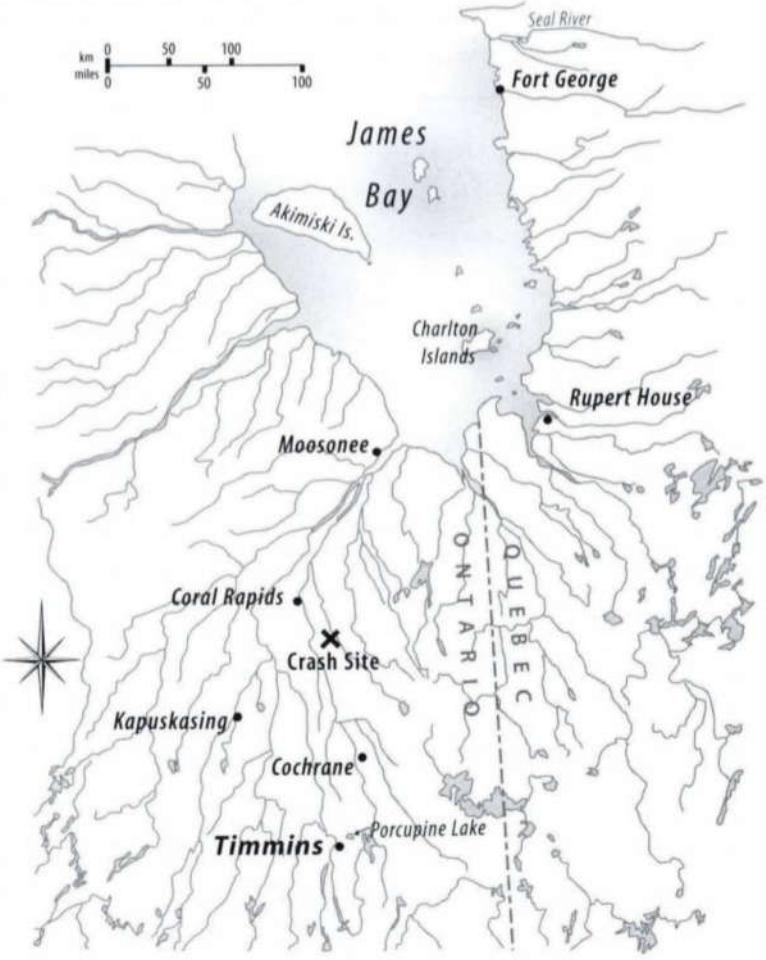
HOCKEY HALL OF FAME

Plumes of smoke were investigated, a piece of airplane plexiglass was checked ... yellow clay on riverbeds produced false hopes, photo reconnaissance came into use, and planes and men became so overused that a Dakota aircraft crashed.

TORONTO SUN

In the days after the massive air search begins, Alex Barilko (above, at right) contemplates the fate of his missing brother.

On June 6, 1962, more than eleven years after Barilko's disappearance, the twisted remains (above right) of the yellow Fairchild 24 single-engine airplane that carried him and his companion, dentist Henry Hudson, were found half-buried and camouflaged in dense forest 100 kilometres northwest of Cochrane, Ontario. That year, coincidentally, the Toronto Maple Leafs won the Stanley Cup for the first time since Barilko's climactic 1951 cup-winning goal.



DAWN HUCK

Storm Halts Search For Barilko and

Authorities begin to piece together what happened before the plane vanished into the night. After two days of fishing, Barilko and Hudson had left Seal River, heading south for home on the morning of Sunday, August 26. They arrived at Fort George and its Hudson's Bay Company depot midway down the eastern coast of James Bay about noon. There they unloaded several items – sleeping bags, a tent, cooking equipment – in an apparent attempt to lighten their load. Then they landed at Rupert House, 260 kilometres farther south, near the Quebec-Ontario border. They refueled. Dan Wheeler, local HBC clerk, warned Hudson of a storm brewing to the south; Hudson replied that they had 120 pounds of fish in their pontoons and were anxious to get home before it spoiled. Barilko walked quietly along the dock, looking out into the Canadian wilderness.

Moments later, despite Wheeler's warnings, they tried to get airborne off the water. The plane seemed to labour. It looked weighed down by something. It dipped and dived in the air and barely climbed over the trees. A Cree woman commented that it seemed to be doing tricks. The storm, with its gusting headwind, awaited them in Ontario.

But what did all of this mean? What did it say about the fate of the men and their plane?

The search went on into a second week and then a third. More plumes of smoke were investigated, a piece of airplane plexiglass was checked in a farmer's field near Kapuskasing, yellow clay on riverbeds (as yellow as the Fairchild 24) produced false hopes, photo reconnaissance came into use, and planes and men became so overused that a Dakota aircraft crashed near the end of a runway and almost produced more tragedy. But the intensity of the search didn't lessen. "We'll fly at 500 feet and allow for only a mile visibility," said Searchmaster G.J. Ruston of a new tactic. "With as much territory as we have to cover, that amounts to looking under every twig."

But looking under every twig proved insufficient. And finally, during the last week of September – after thirty days of searching, 1,354 air-hours, using twenty-eight planes and covering 843,443 square kilometres – the search was called off.

In Toronto the Leafs were heartbroken. Turk Broda, Teeder Kennedy, and Bill's brother Alex had helped raise money for the "Search for Bill Barilko" fund aimed at mounting a ground search party. But as the team gathered for training camp on September 23, hope seemed gone. They cancelled their victory banquet. Barilko's name was placed at the top of the roster list and his equipment was hung in his stall. But he never came.

Conn Smythe, known for being a skinflint, offered a $10,000 dead-or-alive reward and posted it in the papers. He had been golfing with Kennedy when he heard that Barilko was missing. It had cut him like a knife. As the search proceeded he had spent time watching films of the Leafs' Cup triumph and told the press gathered at camp: "I can't get over the way that Barilko stood out." The young man from the north had been his "bounce boy," the unflagging spirit of the team.

The air of mystery about Barilko's disappearance continued. It grew beyond speculation about where the plane went down or how the men might be surviving, trapped in a muskeg desert, besieged by black flies and mosquitoes. Mystics and mediums were drawn to the case. Some said Barilko was still alive, and there were whispers that he and his pilot had fled somewhere for some secret purpose.

Stories like the sighting of the ghost plane over Timmins had fuelled such things. It had been said that a yellow aircraft had appeared suddenly out of the sky, buzzed down low over the Hudson home, gunned its engine, seemed to stall more than once as if to attract attention, and then turned toward nearby Porcupine Lake, where Hudson frequently landed. It was a single-engine craft with pontoons and one wing a slightly different shade: all fit the description of the lost Fairchild 24. Mrs. Hudson saw the plane and so did a close friend. She joyfully ran from the house and drove to the lake to pick up her husband and Bill Barilko. But the plane never appeared. Later the sighting was discounted, said by some to have been a Lands and Forests search plane, but a week later "a yellow object on a hill" near Timmins reawakened interest. Days later searches were still being made in the area.

Other circumstances deepened the sense of mystery. Barilko had come from a gold-mining town. He had invested in gold. It had long been said that some miners smuggled bits of gold out of the depths in their pockets. But one had to get it into the right hands to profit from it. Dentists, working with gold fillings, were perfect mules, and Dr. Henry Hudson was a dentist. This melded with accounts of the plane being weighed down by something much heavier than 120 pounds of fish, extensive police involvement in the search, the story of the Timmins ghost plane, and the fact that the crash had eluded a microscopic search of the north. Together these factors provided the background for a great deal of intrigue.

Other stories were even more bizarre. One claimed that Barilko had fled to the Soviet Union and was teaching the Reds how to play defence. In 1951, at the height of the Cold War and Joe McCarthy, rumours, speculation, and conspiracy were all the rage. When a plane flew off the radar screen in the area where North American military were daily tracking the skies for Soviet invasions, such a disappearance was ripe for rumour.

But above all, Barilko's fame may have been behind the romanticizing of his final chapter. He had achieved the ultimate in a Canadian boy's dreams ... and then vanished. In the twentieth century, mystery seemed to go hand in hand with many famous deaths, often media-driven. In Bill Bar-

Pilot

ilko people may have seen their own hoped-for immortality, and they just couldn't let him go.

Something strange happened to the Toronto Maple Leafs after the summer of 1951. They stopped winning. Right from the minute they played their first exhibition for Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip at the Gardens in October, they seemed to lack something. The team that had won four Cups in five years was knocked from contention in four straight games in the spring. Over the next six years, they missed the playoffs three times and once even finished dead last.

No player would be allowed to wear Barilko's number again, and his loss hung over the team like a curse. It was said the Leafs would never regain the Stanley Cup until Barilko was found. But in the spring of 1962, eleven years and one day after he scored his dramatic goal, Punch Imlach marched a new team into Chicago and reclaimed the Cup. The *Daily Star* announced on its front page that "the jinx" was over.

Five weeks later, Gary Fields, a pilot with Lands and Forests out of Cochrane, was flying a routine flight towards James Bay. About 100 kilometres north and a little west, he looked down and saw something glinting amongst the dense black spruce trees and muskeg below. In seconds it disappeared. He and his colleague returned home thinking they had seen the remnants of a well-marked plane crash. When they told their story to others, jaws dropped. The search was on again. But for a week the plane eluded pursuers. Finally, on June 6, they found it.

"The mystery surrounding the disappearance of hockey star Bill Barilko 11 years ago has finally been cleared up," said the Toronto *Telegram*. But was it?

The aircraft was twisted, half-buried, and camouflaged. It was a yellow Fairchild 24 with CF-FXT on the wing, and there were two skeletons in the cockpit. All that made sense. But others things didn't. The plane was facing north rather than south, its instruments were in a nose-up position and its pontoons, those sealed pontoons that had been so full of fish, or gold, or whatever, were ... empty.

Personal items found on the scene made it obvious who the dead men were. But because there were no dental records to confirm their identities, neither body was officially identified. An inquiry was held into the cause of the crash in Cochrane on October 18, yet despite lingering questions, it was treated as an open-and-shut case. Though the Search and Rescue report blamed the crash on pilot inexperience combined with bad weather, other investigators, most notably the Department of Transport, said there wasn't enough evidence to know for certain. The question of how 120 pounds of fish could have disappeared from the pontoons while in the air between Rupert House and the crash site was never explored.

In *Overtime, Overdue*, the only book written about Barilko, John Melady pursues such issues. A search-and-rescue expert, he feels that many things about the case remain mysterious. The size of the RCAF rescue operation was enormous, unprecedented, and hardly fitting for the loss of two men in a single-engine plane. The number of OPP officers assigned to the search seemed abnormal too. Melady, knowing the size of the plane's gas tanks and that they had been refuelled in Rupert House, says lack of gasoline could not have caused the crash. Like others, he also wondered what happened to the fish. His research revealed that the OPP had ordered that no one touch the plane until they arrived, and when Gary Fields saw it a short while later, he noticed that the pontoons had been sliced open, again raising rumours that the plane was full of gold bullion.

Melady quoted an article in the Toronto *Telegram* the day after the plane was found. In it Peter Worthington called the OPP investigation a "hush-hush assignment." "Although the bush has surrendered the victims," he wrote, "the mystery still lingers."

Bill Barilko has now disappeared into our popular history. In the real world he was replaced on the Leaf defence by Tim Horton, another hard-rock from the north who died violently and became a legend. In song Barilko was memorialized in the 1990s by Canadian rock giants The Tragically Hip. The haunting and elliptical "Fifty Mission Cap," about a man who finds Barilko's story on the reverse side of a hockey card, was often sung at packed Maple Leaf Gardens concerts as sweater number 5 hung from the rafters near the spot where he scored his goal.

Late in life Turk Broda was asked to name the greatest defenceman who ever played in front of him. "Bill Barilko," he replied, without hesitation. He would have been a great one, said others, and had only scratched the surface of his potential.

In a tavern north of Toronto in the year 2000, Harry Watson sits down to reminisce. Seventy-seven years old, with white hair and glasses, he still gets excited when he thinks of his former mate and that moment on April 21, 1951, when, poised on the ice five metres in front of the Montreal goal, he saw Barilko whiz past and time stood still. Eleven years later, he bore his friend's light casket at a Timmins church.

When he talks of "the Kid" he turns wistful. "It didn't matter where we went, he'd walk into a room and he'd just seem to light up the room. People loved to be with him. ... It was really something."

It's a phrase he uses more than once. The conversation turns to the goal, the roar of the crowd, the plane's disappearance, and rumours of gold smuggling. Bill Barilko's life seems like a fairytale, a mystery, a story that never happened. But it did.

"It was really something," says Harry Watson.

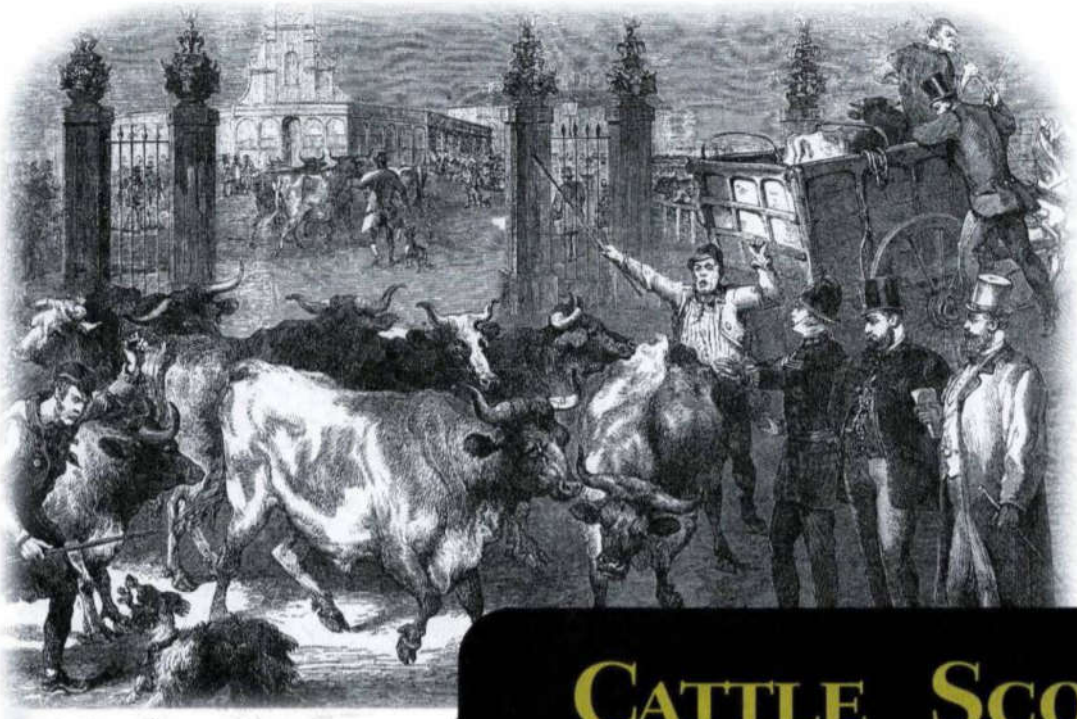
Journalist, playwright, and screenwriter Shane Peacock's latest young-adult novel, *Bone Beds of the Badlands* (third book in the Dylan Maples Adventure Series from Penguin) appears this fall.

et cetera

Overtime, Overdue: The Bill Barilko Story **by John Melady. City Print, Trenton, Ontario, 1988.**

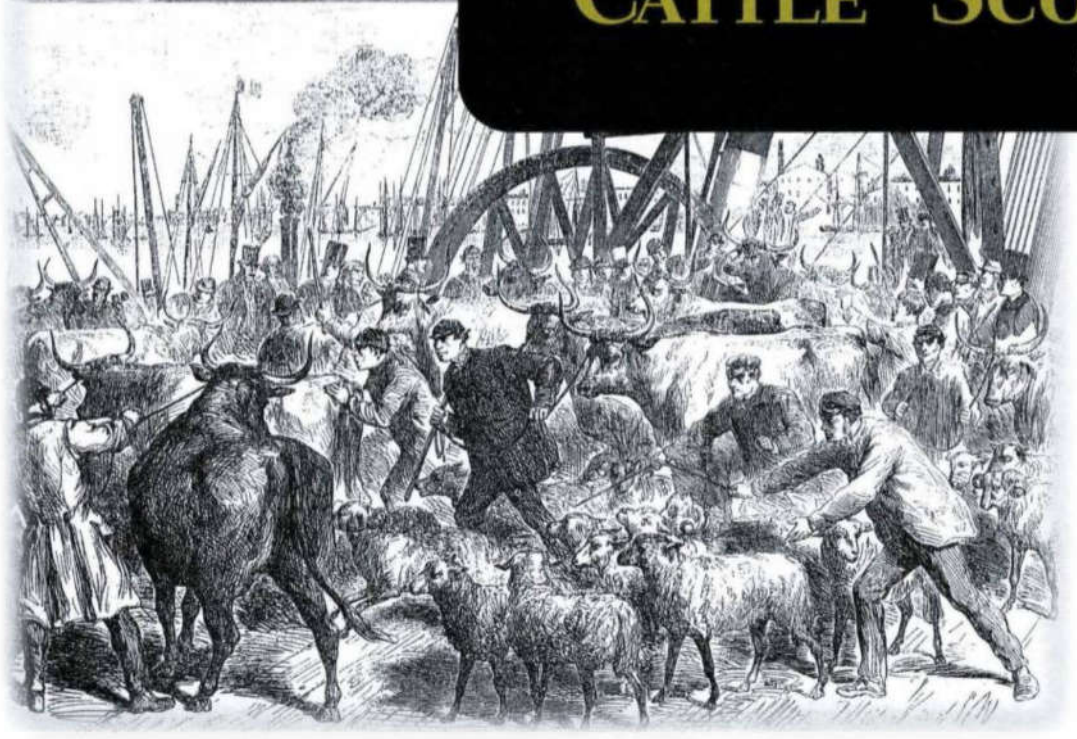
Inspection of Foreign Cattle at the Metropolitan Cattle Market,
from The Illustrated London News, *September 9, 1865.*

In 1865, a cattle epidemic of rinderpest reached the level of national emergency in Britain and then in Canada. Four years later Britain passed legislation controlling the movement of cattle into the country that forced exporting nations like Canada and the U.S. to more intensely manage the health of their herds.



CATTLE SCOURGE

by Margaret Derry



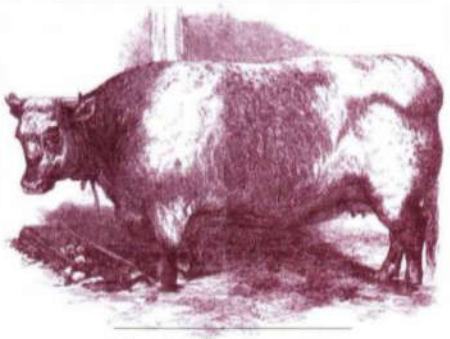
Landing Foreign Cattle at the British and Foreign Wharf, near the London Docks,
from The Illustrated London News, *August 26, 1865.*

Cattle plague "continues to increase in its ravages .... all transit of live cattle by road or railway is stopped .... all diseased beasts, and beasts that have been brought in contact with the disease, are to be slaughtered ..."

—*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1866.

The report in Britain's *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1866 bears a strange resemblance to today's outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease. Although not much has changed in dealing with cattle plague since, in the nineteenth century, Canada was very successful – in fact, one of the most successful of the Western nations – in containing cattle disease. At that time, foot-and-mouth was not the only focus of illness in cattle. Three cattle plagues – rinderpest, pleuropneumonia, and foot-and-mouth disease – threatened nineteenth-century herds, and methods for controlling these sicknesses were exactly the same as those used today: quarantine, restriction of movement, and slaughter.

Foot-and-mouth disease isn't a recent British phenomenon. In the nineteenth century, cattle plagues were a predicament on both sides of the Atlantic.



Shorthorn heifer, Octavia, aged three years and three months, prize animal from the Smithfield Club Cattle Show, bred by the Earl of Radnor. From The Illustrated London News, *December 23, 1865.*

Since the dawn of time, people have feared epidemics of cattle illness. But in the nineteenth century, the issue took on monumental proportions. In 1846, Britain, the largest market for meat in the world, opted for free trade and allowed cattle into the country duty-free. The movement of animals into Britain started a chain reaction of cattle plagues across the Western world. Cattle from Europe introduced the three scourges to Britain, and then threatened to spread sickness to North America. Each disease had a similar effect – each was highly contagious to cattle but not to people, and each was economically devastating, killing off stock, drastically reducing meat and milk production, curtailing human movement, and thus disrupting the whole economy.

In 1865 a cattle epidemic of rinderpest entered Britain through the introduction of cattle shipped from the Baltic port of Revel (Tallinn). Rinderpest, one of the oldest known animal diseases, had already been accurately described in the fourth century. Its probable origin is Asia, and even though it does not affect people, it is thought to be the parent of human measles. Rinderpest kills ninety per cent of the cattle that catch it. The 1865 epidemic reached the level of national emergency. Britain passed the Contagious Diseases Act (Animals) in 1869 to control the movement of live cattle into Britain from areas (fundamentally most European nations) where any of the three scourges were known to exist. Such countries were "scheduled," which meant that animals imported from these sources had to be slaughtered within ten days of landing and promptly sold as meat on the local market.

Stock from countries that had not been scheduled could be shipped inland alive, making them more valuable to farmers because living animals could reach internal markets. The 1869 British legislation caused significant changes in market linkages in the Western world. It gave any unscheduled nation a privileged position in the huge British market. Canada and the United States fell in that category.

That special position could only be maintained if the three scourges could be kept out. Canada was particularly determined to do so. With Confederation in 1867, the new Department of Agriculture acquired a veterinary section, which in 1869 established a structure for quarantine regulations. In 1876 quarantine stations were established when a foot-and-mouth epidemic was raging in Britain. While not the killer that rinderpest is, foot-and-mouth ruins animals as producers of meat and milk, and causes abortion. If it arrived in Canada, Canada would be scheduled on the British market.

In 1879 Britain scheduled the United States for pleuropneumonia. This disease, which kills fifty per cent of its victims, is particularly menacing due to its long incubation period – up to three months. Canadian cattle were in danger because transatlantic trade had created a continental movement of stock. American cattle, transshipped through Canada on their way to Britain, brought the threat of disease with them. That, in turn, endangered Canada's privileged position as an unscheduled country in the British beef cattle market.

Just how dangerous were American cattle? A Canadian investigation at the time revealed that pleuropneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease had been entrenched in the eastern part of the

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United States since 1843. Significantly, these plagues appeared to be confined to the area east of the Appalachian Mountains. Range stock from the western states was disease free.

So Canada prohibited the entrance into Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes of all eastern American cattle. No attempt was made to regulate the entrance of western American cattle into western Canada. At the same time, the U.S. government tackled the problem of cattle disease with new energy. Between 1886 and 1892 the U.S. government spent $1.5 million, a lot of money in those days, buying and exterminating diseased cattle located east of the Appalachians. By destroying the illness in the east, the Americans hoped to prevent it from entering the west.

Canada, meanwhile, had instituted a ninety-day quarantine on cattle from Europe, which made the country a safe "filter" for cattle. Fearful of importing diseased cattle from the eastern states, Midwest American breeders turned to Canada to import their purebred stock. For Canada, this was a profitable trade.

But new dangers were about to threaten western Canadian ranchers. As early as 1882 the Canadian government believed that the movement of calves from east to west in the United States would introduce pleuropneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease to Montana, a major cattle supply base for ranching in the Canadian North-West Territories. By 1885 pleuropneumonia was found in Illinois. Canada responded by extending its quarantine system across the country, an action made possible by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railways. In 1887 quarantine detention was lengthened to ninety days everywhere in the country.

The following year, 1888, the American government asked Canada to remove its quarantine requirement, because pleuropneumonia had been eradicated west of the Alleghenies. Canadian authorities believed otherwise, arguing that cattle from the American west, shipped via New York, had landed in Britain diseased, and that the stock had contracted the illness in the west. It was thought that the plague still existed in the east as well.

In 1892 Britain scheduled Canadian stock for pleuropneumonia, after Canadian cattle landed there with suspicious illness. While later documentation revealed little evidence that any cattle from Canada carried the infection, Canada's position in the British market for live cattle now matched that of the United States. The Americans responded to Britain's scheduling of Canada by imposing a ninety-day quarantine on all Canadian cattle entering the United States. In the U.S., unlike in Britain, no provision existed for cattle to pass over the border for immediate slaughter. All stock was subject to quarantine. It made no sense to ship slaughter cattle under these conditions.

Because of the American and British policy, Canadian cattlemen began to seriously oppose quarantine regulations for the first time since the Canadian quarantine system was initiated. British scheduling of Canadian cattle became permanent in 1896 and farmers pressured for easing Canadian-American quarantine regulations. In February 1897 the regulations were revised: cattle could pass freely between Canada and the United States without detention for the three scourges, but both countries maintained their vigilance to control the spread of cattle disease.

By the end of the nineteenth century, North America had the three scourges under control through quarantine, restriction of movement, and slaughter. Canada's system was particularly effective in preventing the entrance of cattle plagues, and massive slaughter of farmers' herds was not necessary.

Rinderpest never entered the country, pleuropneumonia did just once (in the Quebec quarantine station in 1886 where slaughter was implemented to control its spread), and foot-and-mouth never gained a foothold. But foot-and-mouth scourges like the one that ravaged Britain last spring combined with today's increased trade and travel patterns make cattle plague an ever more serious threat.

Margaret Derry, an agricultural historian, is an adjunct professor at the University of Guelph and an associated scholar of the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology at the University of Toronto. She is the author of *Ontario's Cattle Kingdom: Purebred Breeders and Their World, 1870–1920* (University of Toronto Press, 2001), from which this article is derived in part.

Will Power

by Douglas J. Johnston

THE TORONTO STAR

Kathleen Ellen Nagle (above, with baby, second right) was one of four mothers with nine children apiece to receive $125,000 from the estate of Charlie Millar. Though there are ten children in the picture, the first was born before the stork derby began.

Wills are written by lawyers—and it shows.

Dense, repetitive, and technical, they're written to fulfill a professional responsibility: Follow the client's instructions while not running afoul of the law. By design they're short on originality. But sometimes a testator—the person who makes a will—injects creative flourishes into an otherwise staid legal document.

Some of these let's-add-some-panache testators people Canadian legal history, their attempts to vivify last wills and testaments judged in courts of law, or the court of public opinion, or both.

Upper Canada pioneer Dr. William "Tiger" Dunlop, a writer of some renown in the nineteenth century, died in 1848, leaving a will that reflected his reputation as a first-class eccentric.

Dunlop was a practical joker, a hard drinker, a witty politician, and, in the words of Canadian literary historian Carl F. Klinck, schooled in "the dangerous uses of the quill." Following its publication in England in 1832, his book, *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada*, is credited with attracting thousands of British settlers to the area around Goderich, Ontario. The book's success was largely due to Dunlop's playful literary style, blending practical information with amusing anecdotes and tongue-in-cheek advice. Though he wrote only one other book—*Recollections of the American War* (1812–1814), he wrote dozens of essays for three major British literary magazines, *Blackwood's*, *Fraser's*, and *The Quarterly Review*, and countless newspaper articles and editorials in England, Scotland, Canada, and India.

Tiger Dunlop (who earned his nickname tiger hunting in India) was never dull. Neither was his will. He didn't scruple to spare his family his acid wit, even as he benefited them by his gifts.

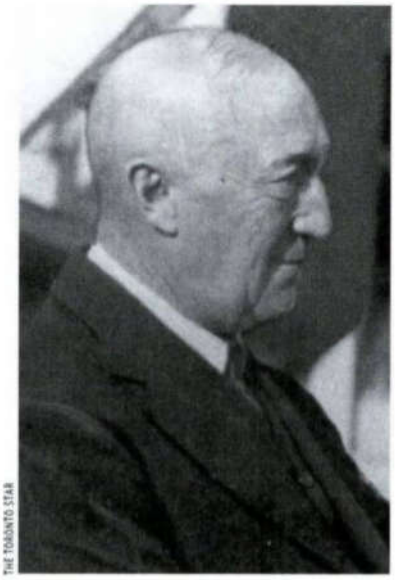
William "Tiger" Dunlop (below). Though a successful author in his day, his enduring reputation rests on his eccentric will and its candid comments.

Yours truly
W. Dunlop
27 Aug 1848

"I leave my silver tankard to the eldest son of old John, as the representative of the family," went his will. "I would have left it to old John himself, but he would melt it down to make temperance medals, and that would be sacrilege.

"I leave John Caddle a silver teapot, to the end that he may drink tea therefrom to comfort him under the affliction of a slatternly wife.

"I leave my sister Jenny my Bible, the property formerly of my great-great-grandmother Bethia Hamilton, of Wood Hall; and when she knows as much of the spirit of it, as she does of the letter, she will be another guise [*sic*] Christian than she is."



THE TORONTO STAR

Charles Vance Millar (left). A line in his will that the bulk of his fortune should be paid to the mother who in a ten-year period following his death had given birth in Toronto to the greatest number of children, set off a competition that entertained and appalled Depression-era newspaper readers.

However at times Dunlop strikes a chord that makes him look more petulant than witty. Witness his gifts to two of his sisters, his principal beneficiaries: "I leave the property of Gairbraid, and all other landed property I may die possessed of, to my sisters Helen Boyle Story and Elizabeth Boyle Dunlop; the former because she is married to a minister whom (God help him) she henpecks—. The latter because she is married to nobody nor is she like to be."

A similar spitefulness surfaces in later bequests to a different sister and to a brother-in-law.

"I give my silver cup with a sovereign in it, to my sister Janet Graham Dunlop, because she is an old maid and pious, and therefore will necessarily take to horning [imbibing alcohol]. And also my Granna's snuff mull, as it looks decent to see an old woman taking snuff.

"I leave Parson Chevasse (Magg's husband), the snuff-box I got from the Sarnia Militia, as a small token of my gratitude for the service he has done the family in taking a sister that no man of taste would have taken."

His Montreal lawyer, John Prince, anticipating challenges to Dunlop's will because of its jaunty language, sought to avoid litigation by appending a statement. "It [the will] is eccentric, but it is not in that sense illegal or informal," he wrote. "To a mind who knows the mind of the testator it will remain a relict of his perfect indifference (an indifference to be commended, in my opinion) of what is called Fashion even in testamentary matters. I conceive it to be a just and proper Will, and no person can question its legality in point of form or substance."

Prince's declaration, intended to forestall allegations of mental incompetence, apparently did the trick. No beneficiary or family member brought suit to overturn the will.

Dunlop's will was designed to cause a stir. And it did. Most commentators of the day thought it a bit much, even for his larger-than-life persona. He likely would have been pleased with his will's notoriety—at least initially. But more than 150 years after his death, it remains his most famous published work, and the only thing Canadians remember him for, if anything—a dubious celebrity that might well gall a man who once laid claim to international literary fame.

Canada's maestro of the unusual bequest is Charlie Millar. A Toronto lawyer, Millar left a will that created what became known in the 1930s as the "great stork derby," and earned him the nickname "The Merchant of Venus."

Millar died October 31, 1926. A wealthy bachelor without any immediate family, he left the bulk of his fortune to the Toronto mother who within ten years of the date of his death had given birth to the greatest number of children, as evidenced by registrations under Ontario's Vital Statistics Act. If there was a tie, the money, about $750,000, was to be divided equally among the winners.

Millar's various next of kin launched lawsuits attacking the will and the baby derby. They sought to have the baby-making trust declared void as contrary to "public policy"—meaning it shouldn't be upheld because it offended community standards.

They alleged, to quote one of the suits, that it "tends to the propogation [*sic*] of illegal children and promotes competition amongst the women of Toronto in sexual matters and tends to place a premium on immorality by offering an inducement to women whether unmarried or not to compete against each other in sexual indulgence and incontinence." They intended to have the baby-derby provision struck from the will, and thereby, as the closest surviving relations, inherit the derby fund according to Ontario's intestate succession laws. Coming at the depth of the Depression, the litigation generated by his will was a needed source of levity for Canadians, and an even more needed source of income for a raft of lawyers.

Ultimately the case wound its way from trial court to the Court of Appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada, where the moms finally prevailed. By the time the ten years were

Coming at the depth of the Depression, the litigation generated by [Millar's] will was a needed source of levity for Canadians, and an even more needed source of income for a raft of lawyers.

up some 120 children – legitimate and illegitimate – had been born as a result of Millar's baby derby. Eventually each of four mothers with nine children apiece received $125,000. Two other mothers who had borne ten children in the decade – most of them stillborn or unregistered – were awarded $12,500 each.

Though the baby-derby provision garnered most of the attention, it wasn't the only mischief Millar's will perpetuated. Among his other bequests was the following: "I give to Honorable W.E. Raney, A.M. Orpen and Reverend Samuel D. Chown, each one share in the Ontario Jockey Club providing three years from my death each of them becomes enrolled as shareholders in the share register of the club and if they or any of them fail to do so the said three shares shall form part of my residuary estate."

The joke was that Raney and Chown were outspoken opponents of racetrack betting. All three Toronto newspapers – the *Globe*, *Mail & Empire*, and *Telegram* – quickly cottoned on to the smart-aleck nature of the gift of racetrack shares and played it to the hilt.

But the joke didn't stop there. The other member of the troika, A.M. "Abe" Orpen, was a local gambling kingpin who ran a series of Toronto gambling clubs and owned the Dufferin Racetrack in Toronto's west end. Millar inextricably linked the two pillars of civic virtue with the reprobate gambler by making it an express condition that all three become registered shareholders – if not, the whole gift failed.

Millar made another bequest wrapped in a jest, but this one gave rise to a legal conundrum. The will stated: "To each Protestant Minister exercising his clerical function at an annual salary and resident in Toronto at the time of my death and to each Orange Lodge in Toronto I give one share of the O'Keefe Brewery Company of Toronto, Limited."

This gift lampooned its beneficiaries in several ways. Most Protestant ministers of the day were advocates of temperance. As well, they and the Protestant Orange lodges got shares in a brewery founded by an Irish Catholic, Eugene O'Keefe, and majority owned by Irish Catholics.

But, as it happened, Charlie Millar didn't actually own any Catholic beer stock to give to the Protestant ministers and Orange lodges. Millar owned shares in O'Keefe Limited, a holding company that in turn owned shares of O'Keefe Brewery Company of Toronto, but none in the brewery company itself. Speculation abounded whether this was an oversight or a deliberate final twist to create even more consternation.

Like the baby-derby provision, this gift, too, ended up in litigation. Ultimately Mr. Justice William Middleton of the Ontario High Court, who later presided at the baby-derby trial, ruled in favour of the bequest's validity. He ordered Millar's executors to purchase sufficient brewery company shares to satisfy the gift, or, if they couldn't be purchased, to pay each beneficiary in cash at the share's fair market value.

Mean or mischievous wills à la Tiger Dunlop or Charlie Millar often give rise to costly and protracted litigation. Usually some aggrieved relative who has been ridiculed or left out alleges the testator wasn't competent when he signed the document. But nasty or capricious bequests aren't in themselves evidence of insanity. On the contrary, they've been found to be proof of mental competency. Some judges have ruled that an oddball bequest shows the testator understood all too well what he was doing, because designing a quirky gift requires mental agility. Moreover, courts are reluctant to toss out a will on the grounds that the testator wasn't sane when he signed it. So long as a will has been properly signed and witnessed, the law presumes the person who made it was of sound mind.

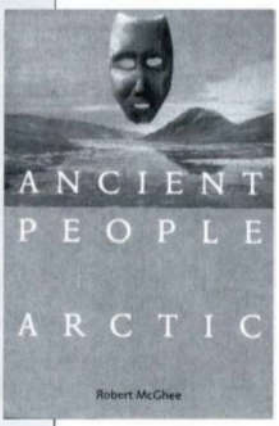
Occasionally a will's singularity isn't immediately apparent – only the testator's life illuminates the special subtext. A nineteenth-century Montreal banker's will, drawn by his lawyer, who was also his executor, was plain vanilla – no unusual gifts, no tricky trusts, no testy remarks. Apart from minor bequests to friends and colleagues, he left his entire estate in equal shares to three women "to whom I owe all my earthly happiness." Only after the funeral did the lawyer learn each lady had rejected his client's marriage proposal.

Douglas J. Johnston is a Winnipeg lawyer and writer.

et cetera

The Great Stork Derby by Mark M. Orkin. General Publishing, Don Mills, 1981.

Ancient People of the Arctic
by Robert McGhee



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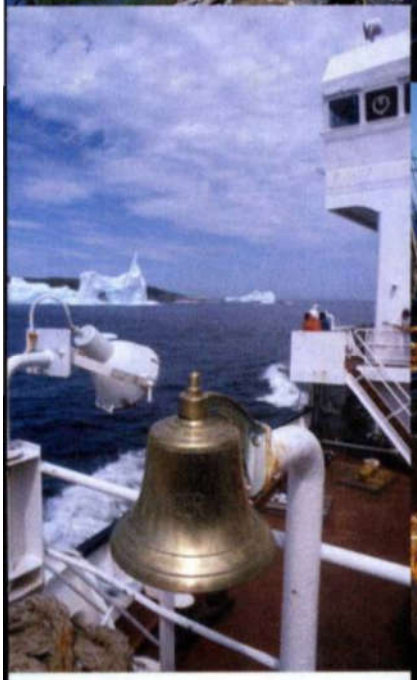
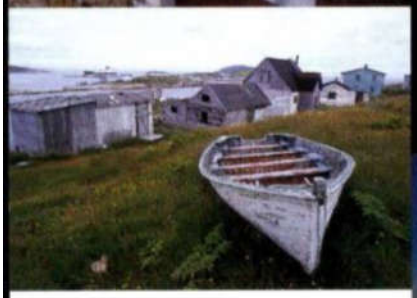
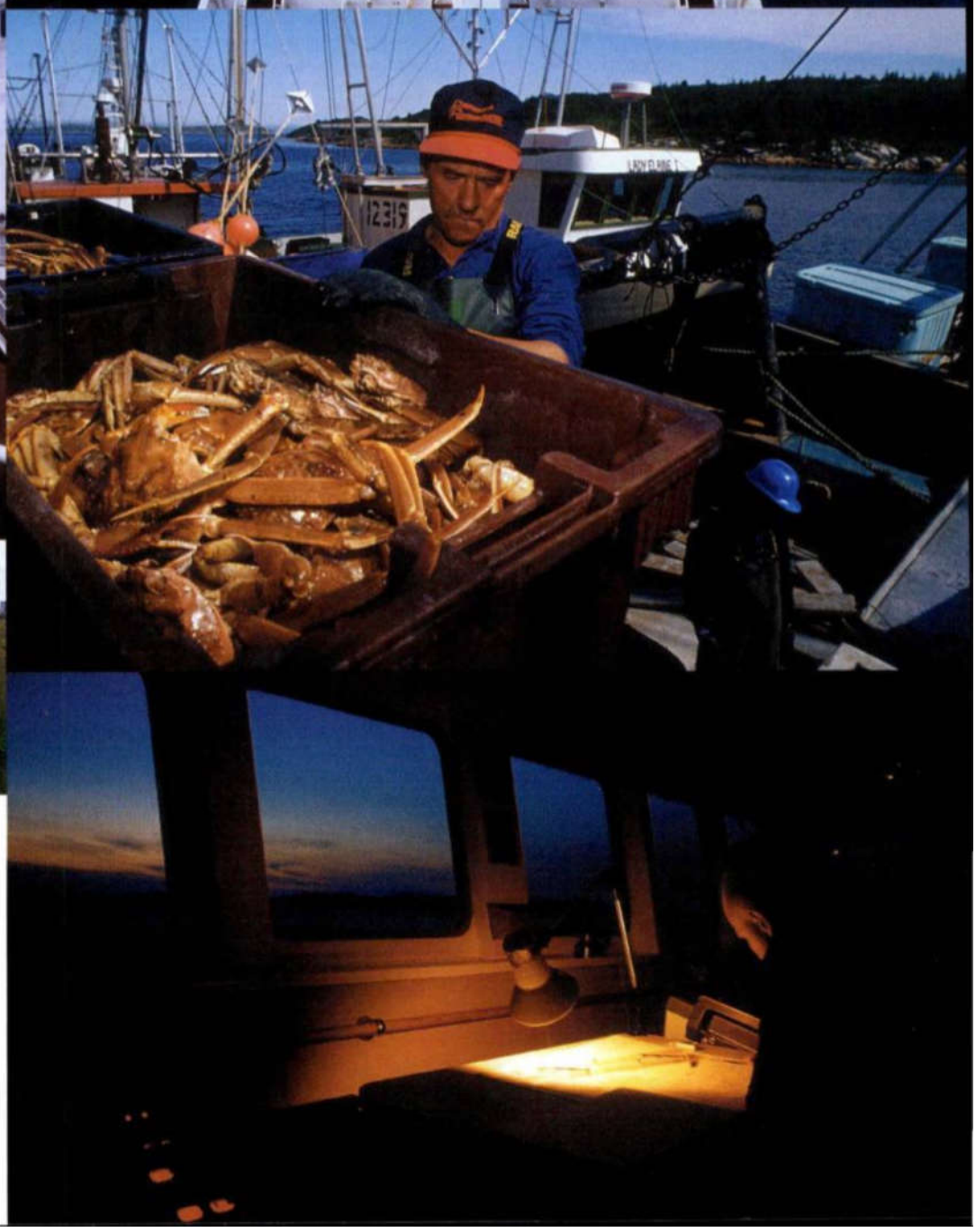
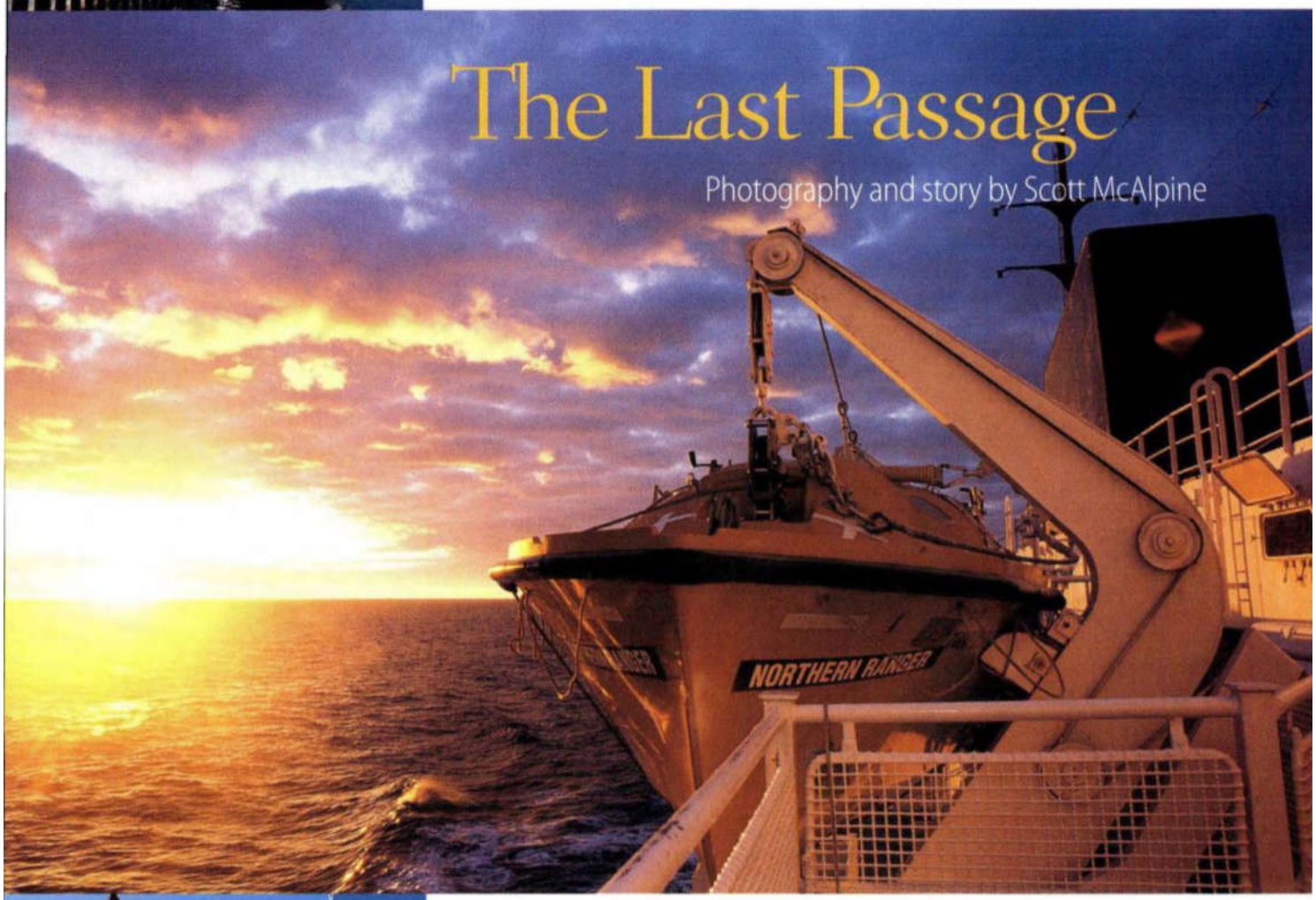






The Last Passage

Photography and story by Scott McAlpine



Clockwise, from top left: Heading into Windy Tickle, a narrow, steep-sided channel between an island and the mainland about halfway between Utshmassits and Davis Inlet; Docked at Makkovik; Sunrise south of Makkovik on the north coast of Labrador; Dories arrive to pick up goods at Norman Bay, an anchorage point for the *Northern Ranger*; Paul Burton, third mate of the *Northern Ranger*, charts a course for the evening anchorage north of Cartwright; Battle Harbour, established in the 1750s, is one of the oldest European settlements on the Labrador coast. Here, in 1893, medical missionary Sir Wilfred Grenfell established Labrador's first hospital; Icebergs bob off the entrance to William's Harbour; Arctic char dried the traditional way in Hopedale, a primarily Inuit community of 625 people. Centre: Crab and shrimp are now the main fishery in Labrador.

Every year between July and October, the supply ferry, MV *Northern Ranger*, makes a fortnightly run down the coast of Labrador. This summer may be its last. A 355-kilometre highway linking Red Bay on the Strait of Belle Isle to Cartwright on the northern tip of Labrador's south coast is scheduled for completion within the next year. As a result, the historically rich practice of travelling up the coast by supply boat may become redundant.

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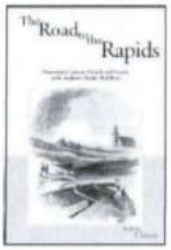

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Until this year, the only way to access the coastal communities and outports was by boat during the summer, snowmobile in winter, and, more recently, airplane. The ferry service was an affordable means of transportation that also provided a crucial social link for the roughly 3,450 residents on this coast. For over 150 years it has been part of the annual "shifting out" to outport fishing stations that took place from June until November. Labrador's liveyers (a moniker for "live heres") witnessed an explosion in activity as 25,000 men, women, and children headed north from Newfoundland for work.

This summer coastal Labrador may see another ending in a province that seems to have had more than its fair share. But with this ending comes hope for many of the resourceful coastal people.

Labrador's coastal ferry service was sporadic prior to Newfoundland joining the Canadian confederation in 1949. Under the terms of union the Canadian government has maintained a seasonal passenger ferry service, keeping families connected and communities supplied with everything from food and toilet paper to snowmobiles, crab traps, and satellite dishes.

Kirk McNeil is one of many Labradorians who depend on this service. "My father was always a fisherman. As a child my father would move the family from our winter home in Port Hope Simpson out to William's Harbour for the summer fishing season," he says. McNeil, now thirty, works as a tour guide on the *Ranger*.

With the opening of the new Trans Labrador Highway, the younger generation looks forward to the positive impacts it will have. The older generation, however, views the development with a more skeptical eye.

Ray Berkshire of Arnold's Cove, Newfoundland, owns three supply vessels. The decline and then halting of the cod fishery changed the way Berkshire does business. "I prefer what we did ten years ago. I visited many small ports along the south coast delivering salt and bringing back salt fish." Still, he says, "the highway has created work for us." Ray now hauls machinery, materials for construction of water and sewer systems, cement, and building supplies.

The new highway is seen by many as the saviour of a poor economy. With improved access to and from the outside world, the hope is that community interaction will increase, the cost of living will decrease, and local economies will have opportunities for diversification and for more tourism.

Tourism on the Labrador coast dates back to the mid-1930s when Canadian National Railways began marketing its coastal ferry service. In 1999, Newfoundland recorded Canada's highest tourism growth rate at 5.3 per cent. One of the engines behind this increase has been cruise ships. In 1999, international cruise arrivals to the Atlantic region jumped 74 per cent.

Development will also satisfy cruise-ship lines' desires for new destinations, according to Gordon Slade, chief executive of the Cruiseship Authority of Newfoundland and Labrador. He thinks Labrador and Newfoundland can capture a part of the new niche called "adventure cruising" popular among the swelling legions of retiring baby-boomers because they have something Alaska cannot offer—a steady supply of icebergs.

et cetera

The Labradorians: Voices from the Land of Cain by Lynn D. Fitzhugh. Breakwater Books, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1999.

This summer, coastal Labrador may see another ending in a province that seems to have had more than its fair share. But with this ending comes hope for many of the resourceful coastal people. "For my generation, it means survival, rebuilding communities and creating employment in tourism, pulpwood cutting, and exploration for minerals," McNeil says. "Right now I am trying to work for Labrador, and find a place where I can show it to others." ◘

Scott McAlpine is a Montreal-based freelance photojournalist who thinks Labrador and its people are among Canada's unknown treasures.

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The Sculpture of Louis-Philippe Hébert

The Monumentalist

by Guy Simser

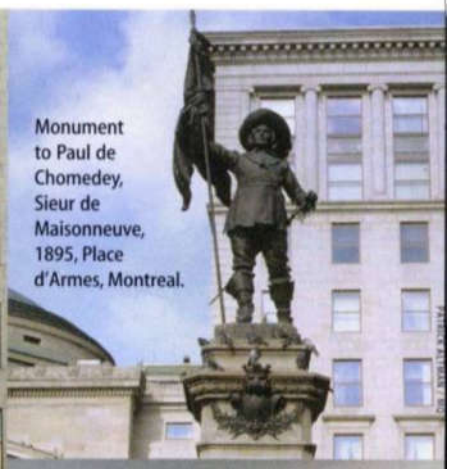
On June 7, 1881, in Châteauguay, Quebec, a commemorative bronze statue of military hero Charles-Michel d'Irumberry de Salaberry was unveiled. Montreal's *La Minerve* newspaper touted the event as "the first time a statue representing someone of purely Canadian fame is being erected in a public place, and all with the aid of a nationally subscribed fund."

Joyce Millar, curator of the Stewart Art Gallery in Point-Claire, Quebec, calls this turn-of-the-century period "the first time in the colonization of [Canada] sculpture became a public art form with a specific social and political function." The de Salaberry sculptor, Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917), was in the forefront of this commemorative era. It was his first bronze commission and made him at the age of thirty-one Canada's first monumentalist.

This former ecclesiastical woodcarver set the pace of sculpture in the last thirty-six years of his life as Canada progressed from colony to nationhood. Blessed with a strong sense of patrimony and an ability to capture the spirit of his

Monument to Sir George-Étienne Cartier, 1882, Parliament Hill, Ottawa.

Monument to Edward VII, 1914, Phillips Square, Montreal.



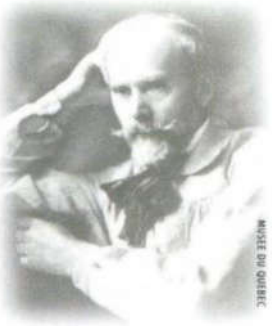
Monument to Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, 1895, Place d'Armes, Montreal.

Salaberry, 1894, Assemblée nationale du Québec, Quebec City.

subjects, he interpreted nation-building events by portraying settlers, natives, religious leaders, and national heroes.

The Canada of his youth in the 1850s was a pioneer colony, with English and European influences still strong. Egerton Ryerson, the chief superintendent of education for Canada West, toured Europe at public expense for copies of masterpiece paintings, sculpture, and architectural decoration deemed necessary for public education. Canadian sculpture, meanwhile, consisted mainly of native and religious woodcarvings.

For Hébert, the thirteenth child born to a struggling farm family, nicknamed *le gosseaux* (the whittler) at age six for his penknife



MUSÉE DU QUÉBEC

carvings of natives and farm animals, introduction to European art was serendipitous. At nineteen, he joined the Papal Zouaves. Carving tools in his pack, he sailed to Europe in 1869 to support the pope against the unionist forces of Garibaldi. Fortunately for Canada, he arrived too late. The revolt had ended. Touring Rome, the self-doubting artist was awed by the Renaissance art there. He told a colleague, "Never will I be able to attain such a height." However, before leaving the Eternal City he showed one of his bas-reliefs to a local connoisseur, who praised it. Hébert returned inspired.

Back home, he entered a carved bust in an 1873 provincial exhibition, impressing influential Montreal architect Napoléan Bourassa, who offered him an apprenticeship. Hébert blossomed under his guidance. He opened his own studio in 1879 and accepted a commission at Ottawa's Notre-Dame Cathedral, resulting in over sixty carvings, thirty of them life-size wood statues. In the same period, while developing his skill in bronze, he began his major wood sculpture, the pulpit in Montreal's Notre-Dame Cathedral.

The de Salaberry bronze commission in 1880 signaled Hébert's move from wood to metal, a time when a call went out to commemorate Canadian nation builders and national events. In 1881 he entered and won an international competition for the first Parliament Hill monument, that of Sir George-Étienne Cartier, completed in 1882.

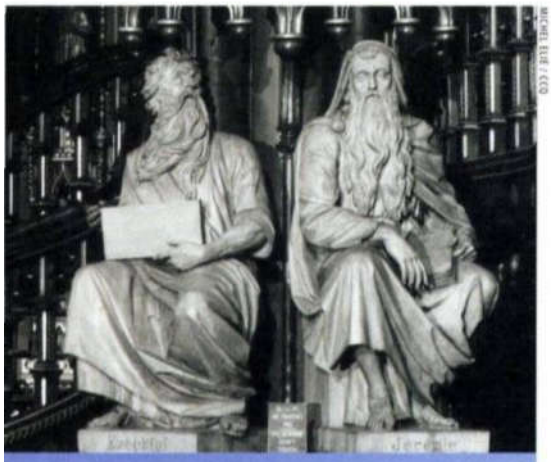
A Quebec government commission followed in 1886 for ten bronze statues for the façade of the legislative building. Given the state of casting technology in Canada, Bourassa recommended Hébert return to Paris to study European methods, a sojourn that lasted over six years. Meanwhile, he continued to take on more commissions, including his masterpiece, the Maisonneuve monument, delivered to Place d'Armes, Montreal in 1893. Three more for Parliament Hill followed: Sir John A. Macdonald (1893), Alexander Mackenzie (1897, with sculptor Hamilton MacCarthy), and Queen Victoria (1901). Attesting to Hébert's reputation and the public's need for commemorative statues, 100,000 people showed up for the unveiling of his monument to Quebec's first bishop, François de Laval, in Quebec City, in 1908.

Hébert's prodigious output continued to the beginning of World War I. On October 1, 1914, he unveiled his Edward VII statue in Montreal, noting in his diary, "This monument is the largest and last work I have done." He died from cancer before war's end.

In the Great War, Canada achieved the sense of nationhood sought by many during Hébert's time. In tribute, numerous war memorials were unveiled across Canada and overseas. Gradually, this wave of commemorative sculpture, led by Hébert and colleagues, diminished, as did the importation of the European academic style. Canadians began to look to the future and explore new avenues in sculpture.

Hébert, descended from Acadians who settled Port-Royal in 1605, left about fifty commemorative and cemetery monuments across the country, as well as many church carvings. On his death, *Le Devoir* commented, "Philippe Hébert was the great illustrator of our history." Visions and styles change. Hébert's art remains: It's ours to reflect upon in our public spaces and churches.

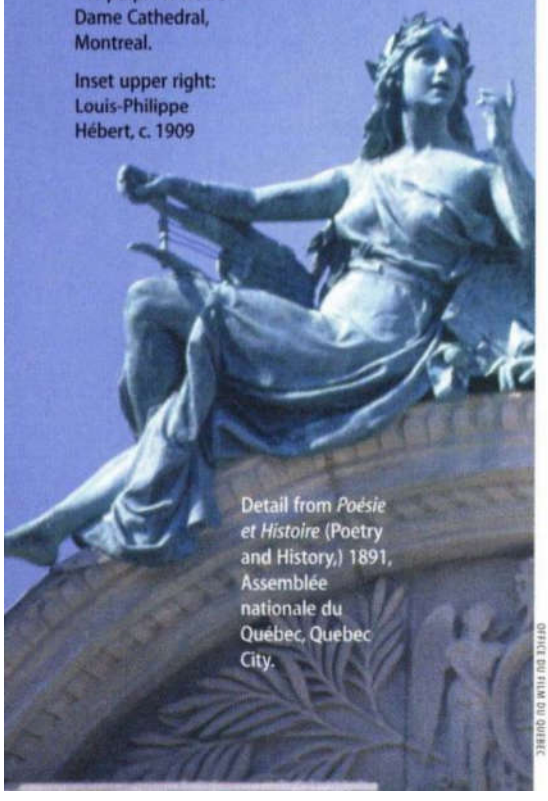
Guy Simser is a writer living in Kanata, Ontario.



MICHEL ÉLIE / CCO

Above: *Ezekiel* (1883) and *Jeremy* (1884), detail from the pulpit of Notre Dame Cathedral, Montreal.

Inset upper right: Louis-Philippe Hébert, c. 1909



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Detail from *Poésie et Histoire* (Poetry and History,) 1891, Assemblée nationale du Québec, Quebec City.

et cetera

The first retrospective on Hébert, "Louis-Philippe Hébert, 1850–1917: Sculpteur national," continues until September 3, 2001 at the Musée du Québec in Quebec City. For further information, see the museum's website at <www.mdq.org> or call toll-free, 1-866-220-2150.

Louis-Philippe Hébert (413-page exhibit catalogue). Musée du Quebec, 2001.

Statues of Parliament Hill by Terry G. Guernsey. National Capital Commission, Ottawa, 1986.

Philippe Hébert, Sculpteur by Bruno Hébert. Fides, Montreal, 1973.

Reviews

Featured Books

■ **Padlei Diary, 1950**
By Richard Harrington
Rock Foundation, New York, 2000
109 pp., illus., $80.00 hardcover

■ **Inuksuit, Silent Messengers of the Arctic**
By Norman Hallendy
Douglas & McIntyre, Toronto, 2000
127 pp., illus., $45.00 hardcover

■ **Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies**
Edited by Gary Kinsman, Dieter Buse and Mercedes Steedman
Between the Lines, Toronto, 2000
293 pp., $29.95 paper

■ **Pushing the Limits: The Story of Canadian Mountaineering**
by Chic Scott
Rocky Mountain Books, Calgary, 2000
440 pp., illus., $59.95 hardcover

■ **Mr. Menzies' Garden Legacy: Plant Collecting on the Northwest Coast**
By Clive L. Justice
Cavendish Books, Delta, B.C., 2000
137 pp., illus., $22.95 paper

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Northern Exposures

In the late 1940s Toronto photographer Richard Harrington was known as "Mr. Photoflash" of the Arctic. His modestly exotic photos, which frequently appeared in the *Beaver*, seemed designed to reassure southern Canadians about northern life. The Inuit were seen to be prosperous and cheerful. The children and husky puppies he shot around settlements were nearly always cute.

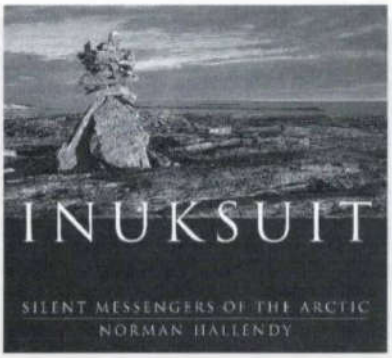
On a trip in early 1950, though, Harrington found quite another reality. When he missed a plane from Churchill to Eskimo Point, he decided to proceed up the west side of Hudson Bay by dogsled, where he encountered starving groups of Caribou Inuit near Padlei who had missed the fall migration of caribou. Dispensing what little food he had, Harrington took photos of the desperation and rushed them back to Toronto. While the *Toronto Star* published the details of the starvation, the editors shrank from running the most disturbing of his photos. But with the same impact of Walker Evans's shots of destitute sharecroppers in Alabama in 1936, they appeared soon enough in Harrington's 1952 book *The Face of the Arctic* and once again in *The Inuit: Life as It Was* in 1980. Now in ***Padlei Diary, 1950***, a privately published volume edited by veteran anthropologist Edmund Carpenter, many reappear with much improved plates along with excerpts from Harrington's diary.

For Carpenter, the volume, which is financed by the Rock Foundation, is an expensive dare. He has admitted elsewhere that he wants to generate interest in a widely distributed Canadian edition for both Harrington's photos and a fully reproduced diary. (Currently the book is available through the author at <meypl@yahoo.ca>.) Although Carpenter doesn't discuss political issues in his introduction, one immediately realizes the fierce impact of these photos in the early fifties, raising the question of what exactly Canada was doing with its north up to that time, particularly when Alaskan natives and Greenlanders were already living in comparative security. Harrington's Padlei photos, in fact, were probably crucial in starting bureaucratic reassessment about Canada's role in the north, which led to many improvements. Today his photos possess a grand history of their own that reminds us of the fragility of the old Inuit life we are still sometimes too eager to romanticize.

Norman Hallendy's lavishly illustrated ***Inuksuit: Silent Messengers of the Arctic*** also looks back to the old culture and land of the Inuit. When he retired from the federal government over a decade ago, Hallendy became a self-trained anthropologist obsessed by the man-made rock forms in the hinterland of Cape Dorset in the southwestern corner of Baffin Island. We know these as the omnipresent inuksuit (plural of inuksuk) that have replaced the igloo as the most common symbol of the Canadian Inuit. One is on the Nunavut flag, and a photo of another is on a recent forty-seven-cent stamp. No new Canadian embassy can be without one in a prominent place.

Hallendy hastens to point out that

inuksuk really means to serve, not just appear, as a man. A real inuksuk has to possess a function, like communicating a direction or a message, indicating good hunting grounds or in rare cases providing a gateway for shamans to enter another world. Altogether Hallendy was able to elicit sixty-five terms for inuksuit and other man-made cairns. He describes the building of one and reproduces a travel plan in which an elder uses the description of land forms in relation to particular inuksuit to show how to reach a destination. It was necessary for travellers to memorize and describe particular inuksuit to other people the way we memorize highway numbers and exits.



Using archaic terminology he learned from such Cape Dorset elders as his long-time mentor Osuitok Ipelee, Hallendy shows how knowledge of inuksuit opens the door to traditional Inuit cosmology, history, mythology, and geography. Over many years Hallendy spent much time out on the land trying to find and photograph inuksuit, and the book is illustrated with many sumptuous shots of both Arctic scenery and the bewildering array of inuksuit. His photos show an Edenic land with no hint of the menace and changeability of the Arctic. The blue skies are a placid backdrop to the silently communicating shapes.

Reviewed by **John Ayre**, a Guelph-based writer and author of *Northrop Frye: A Biography*.

I Spy

Whose National Security?, a collection of twenty-two passionate and well-documented essays, examines the history and extent of Canadian state surveillance, particularly during the Cold War period from 1950 to 1970. Its revelations are startling.

Whose National Security? describes how the RCMP security service worked to protect Canada from "enemies" posing a risk to the national interest. The Mounties took surveillance to ludicrous levels, even spying on Tupperware parties. Others jumped on the patriotic bandwagon, including the fiercely loyalist Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. The IODE warned that, under a communist Canada, the penalty for being late for work was transportation to a slave labour camp in Yukon. If you attempted to escape from Canada, you would be shot and your family given five years of penal servitude.

There was a rationale behind this secret surveillance. Democracy, freedom, and the Canadian way of life were considered in jeopardy during the Cold War. State surveillance that rode roughshod over civil liberties and fundamental freedoms was regarded as a price worth paying to prevent subversives from turning Canada into a communist state. In this frenzied environment of paranoia and hysteria, nobody was beyond the Mounties' gaze. They spied on trade unions, Quebec sovereignists, high school and university students, gays, lesbians, left-wing political groups, and any other organization or persons considered a possible threat to Canada. By 1981, the RCMP had files on 800,000 Canadians.

Whose National Security? is largely the result of a conference on the subject of national security held at Sudbury's Laurentian University in 1996. The authors contributing to this volume include union activists, feminist writers, scholars, and journalists. Particular note should be made of Geoffrey Smith's poignant memoir of growing up in Cold War America and Kerry Badgley's chapter on gaining access to the security collections of the National Archives of Canada.

Given its left-wing perspective, it is not surprising that the book rhetorically asks the question "Whose national security was the state actually protecting?" The answer, of course, was the security of the social and political elite, none of whom, at least openly, embraced any lifestyle that challenged midcentury notions of a Canada that featured the suburban home, working fathers, stay-at-home mothers, and two cars in the garage.

By essentially focusing on the Cold War, *Whose National Security?* neglects to consider at any great length state surveillance activities or espionage during the two world wars. More than passing references should have been made to the war periods, since national security and liberty were then genuinely at risk. The RCMP cut its teeth in domestic intelligence during the Second World War when it arrested Werner von Janowski, an incompetent Nazi operative. The hapless spy was landed by a German U-boat on the Gaspé coast in 1942 and quickly detained. He then became a double agent, and possibly a triple agent. Heading up the case for the Mounties was Cliff Harvison, who

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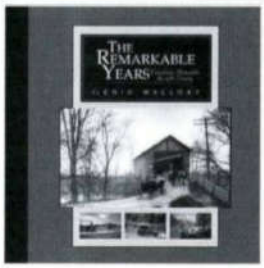

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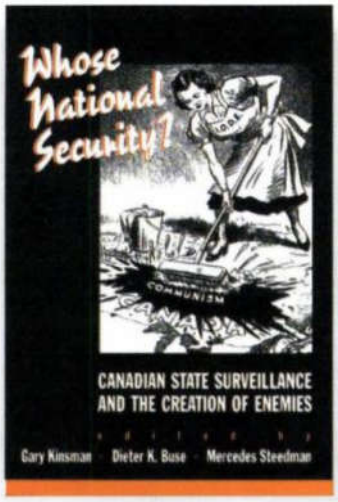
later served as RCMP commissioner during the Cold War.

The entertaining chapter on Mr. and Miss Civil Service and the Ottawa Man seems somewhat out of context in a book on state surveillance. Incredibly, a public-service beauty contest for women lasted until 1973. This was hardly a threat to the established order. The contest and its winners promoted a positive and stable lifestyle, one that was essential in Canada's ideological battle against the communist menace.


Whose National Security?
COMMUNISM
CANADIAN STATE SURVEILLANCE AND THE CREATION OF ENEMIES
Gary Kinsman · Dieter K. Buse · Mercedes Steedman

Several authors conclude their chapters by noting that the ground has barely been broken in this field of research, often because of the reluctance of the federal government to open files to public scrutiny. Nevertheless, *Whose National Security?* helps set the stage for a more detailed examination (and explanation) of the role of Canadian state surveillance. It also serves as a plea for greater accountability and moderation in the Canadian Security Intelligence Service's operations.

Reviewed by lawyer **Gavin Murphy**, who hopes he wasn't spied on while attending Ottawa's Lisgar Collegiate Institute from 1966 to 1970.

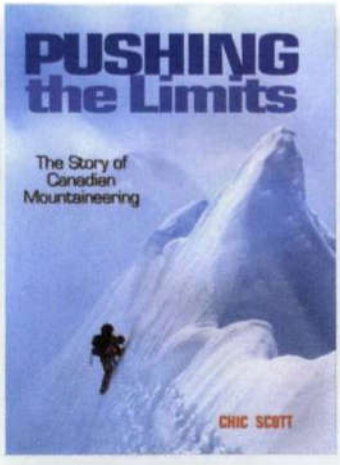
Rocky Mountain High

Pushing the Limits is the first comprehensive history of Canadian alpinism. To write such a story, Chic Scott had to understand both the traditional approach to mountaineering exemplified by the Alpine Club of Canada and the leading-edge risk-takers in local clubs from Quebec to B.C. Scott had a foot in both camps. He also sees a rivalry of regions, wherein mountaineers from different parts of Canada compete to establish routes on more exposed faces and in better style. But whatever the differences, several characteristics remain common to Canadian climbing: the competence and understatement of Canadian climbers, and the remote and isolated wilderness that Europe and the U.S. cannot match.

Canadian Pacific Railway's Glacier House in Roger's Pass was the first focus of the glory days in the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains. Following the death of prominent American lawyer Phillip Abbot while attempting Mount Lefroy, the CPR in 1899 hired Swiss guides to lead clients.

Among these, Conrad Kain was the most adventurous, with first ascents of Bugaboo Spire in southeast B.C. and Mount Louis, just outside Banff. Canadian and international climbers had formed the Alpine Club of Canada in 1906. At their 1913 camp at Mount Robson, the highest peak in the Canadian Rockies, Kain led Canadian engineer Billy Foster and American banker "Mack" MacCarthy to the summit, long credited as the first ascent. But Vancouver minister George Kinney had claimed that honour in 1909. Scott suggests ACC leaders conspired to deny Kinney, and he presents some new evidence for and against Kinney's claim. But the decision is still yours.

Don and Phyllis Munday highlight the second phase, which was concerned with exploration. Over a period of twenty-five years this adventurous pair searched the upper canyons of West Coast fiords, mapping the Coast Range and discovering British Columbia's highest peak, Mount Waddington. Scott considers the 1925–1950 period a hiatus in Canadian climbing, while the world stretched the standards. Then, with an influx of European and American climbers, the hard routes began to fall, illuminating Canadian mountains on the world stage.



About this time, Chic Scott entered the alpine world. The Calgary Mountain Club, with its anarchic mix of "hard-drinking, hard-climbing" youths, first pulled Scott in. He became known for high-altitude ski-mountaineering traverses and first winter ascents. He climbed and guided in Europe for several summers, once setting up safety belays for Clint Eastwood's movie, *The Eiger Sanction*. On an expedition to Dhaulagiri IV he became the first Canadian on a Himalayan summit, the 6,275-metre Myagdi Matha.

Scott acknowledges the early leadership of immigrant alpinists. Austrian Hans Gmoser, now Canada's father of heli-skiing, widely publicized the Bugaboo Mountains. In the 1970s, Britain's Brian Greenwood created a new style with pioneer routes on Yamnuska's cliffs west of Calgary and on frozen waterfalls. Into the 1980s, South African Dave Cheesmond led a Calgary contingent that called itself the Wildboys up the exposed faces of Rocky Mountain peaks.

But Canadians soon took over their own – and foreign – mountains. The Squamish Hard Core, on a huge granite face north of Vancouver, established an ethic similar to the Calgary Mountain Club. A later Squamish graduate, Peter Croft, took boldness a quantum leap forward with fast ascents of Bugaboo and Yosemite walls. John Lauchlan, Tim Auger, James Blench, and Barry Blanchard were all on the leading edge, gaining respect among climbers. Culminating a dozen foreign climbs, Dan Culver and Jim Haberl were the first Canadians to reach the summit of K2, considered more difficult than Mount Everest.

Greater fame has come to Laurie Skreslet, in 1982 the first Canadian on Everest, to Pat Morrow, the first to climb the seven summits of seven continents, and to Sharon Wood,

who, in 1986, became the first North American woman to climb Everest.

Canadians have now pushed the limits from Quebec to Vancouver Island, from Yukon and Baffin Island to the Himalayas. The tales are inspiring, the photographs frightening. Climbing techniques have improved immeasurably. Still, it's amazing to see what self-assigned challenges, even misery, climbers are willing to assume.

Pushing the Limits contains a tabular history and a bibliography for a lifetime of reading. Chic Scott wrote it "from the climbers' point of view; to give climbers their due."

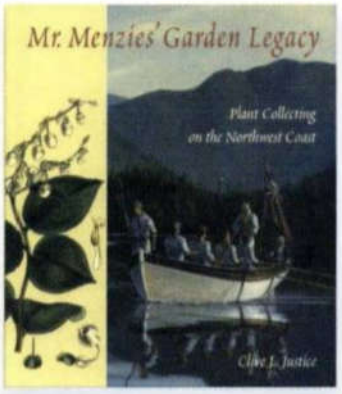
Reviewed by **Gil Parker**, a former vice-president of the Alpine Club of Canada.

Bloom County

Clive L. Justice's book, ***Mr. Menzies' Garden Legacy***, begins with plant collecting on the west coast of Canada in the eighteenth century. Archibald Menzies served as surgeon-naturalist on two voyages of exploration to the Pacific: under Captain Colnett on the *Prince of Wales* in 1786–1788 and under Captain George Vancouver aboard the *Discovery* from 1791–1795. The author attempts to make readers aware of the wealth of native plants around them and their potential for use in contemporary gardens. Justice appears to be just the person to carry this out, as he knows the west coast intimately and has used many native plants in his occupation as a landscape architect.

The book is handsomely illustrated. Every page bears drawings of plants or maps of the intricate coastlines explored by Captain Vancouver around the island that bears his name.

Justice ably describes problems faced by plant collectors in the days of sailing ships. Using many quotes from Menzies' 1792 journal, the impressions and experiences of an eighteenth-century traveller are well documented. Transporting live plants on long sea voyages was seldom successful; therefore most plants were dried in herbariums for the trip back to Europe. In this manner, collectors like Menzies enriched the knowledge of the natural world, and many plants of economic and ornamental value were introduced to cultivation.



Menzies never published a record of his travels or botanical discoveries. His journal was given to Captain Vancouver and his plant collection was claimed by his sponsor, Sir Joseph Banks, not to be examined for many years. Nevertheless he is recognized by the genus *menziesii*, and many species bear his name as an epithet. The author describes many of these plants. However, in dealing with nomenclature, Justice reveals a bias against taxonomists, labeling them "jingoist-botanists," an unnecessary slight. In the same paragraph Justice declares that George Washington is remembered only by state, city, and street names, unaware that a genus of palms, *Washingtonia*, is named after the general.

The author frequently sidetracks the reader with irrelevant or personal remarks, which should only be revealed as endnotes, if at all. To mention but two, the author's reaction to Versailles interrupts a description of Menzies Bay, and the suggestion that a literary character is named after a plant is absurd (Margery Allingham's protagonist Campion bears a British surname derived from the Old Norman for *champion*). An endnote on the latter remark refers the reader to an erroneous source.

Plants that Menzies did not collect or plants collected by other plant hunters are introduced seemingly at random. The brief mention of six orchids collected by Menzies is followed by descriptions of orchids from the South Pacific and elsewhere, which in turn are followed by a lengthy piece on the yellow arum, which Menzies had not encountered.

Justice's enthusiasm for his subject

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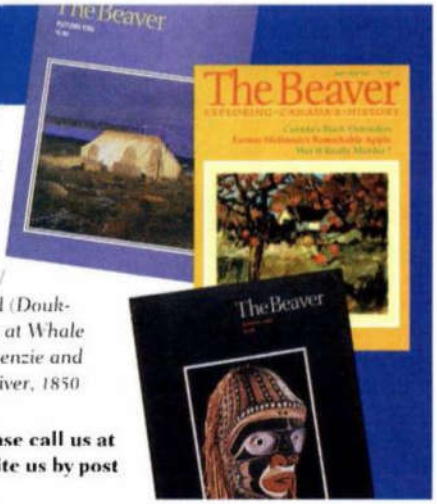

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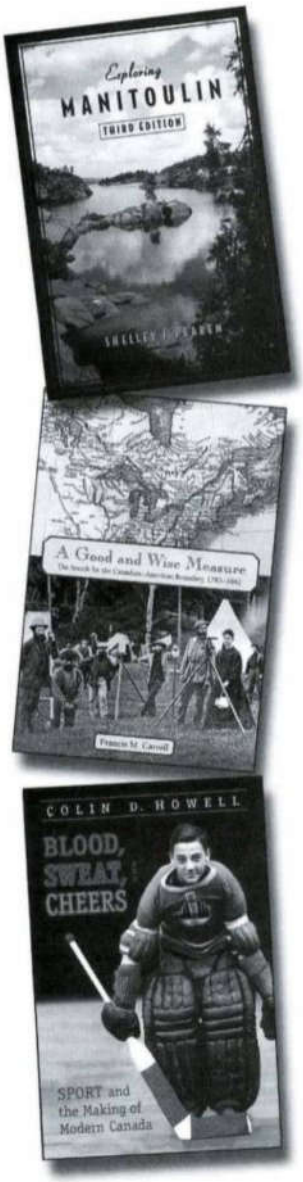
and his practical knowledge of plants are evident, but there is a carelessness in the presentation that could be due to poor editing. The style used for endnotes is unsatisfactory and the formatting of quotations inconsistent. There are instances of duplication, and some endnotes are wrongly numbered. These and other discrepancies may cause the reader to distrust the research.

My interest in Menzies began about forty years ago with *Tolmiea menzies*, the piggyback plant. This windowsill species is known to plant lovers all over North America, but fails to get a mention in Justice's book. Unfortunate, because *Tolmiea menzies* not only commemorates the surgeon-naturalist Menzies, but also Mr. Tolmie, a surgeon of the Hudson's Bay Company at Puget Sound.

Reviewed by **Eileen I. Woodhead**, author and illustrator of *Early Canadian Gardening* (McGill-Queens University Press, 1998).



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Booknotes

"Nothing is as old as yesterday's newspaper," Carl Sandburg once mused. To me nothing is quite as new as a very old newspaper. On the day it is published, what a *new*spaper prints is new – it is not preserving the past but expressing the present. Its columns are current, its opinions are immediate whenever they are read. Thus a newspaper, no matter how old, is still very alive. No wonder our National Library and other archives preserve old newspapers along with many other documents. And no wonder historical researchers like me delight in reading them.

A new study of an old subject, the development of Canadian democracy, makes full use of old newspaper accounts. Indeed, *The Capacity to Judge* devotes a full chapter to the importance of the press in the forming of public opinion. In an exhaustive study – its author won a major academic prize for the doctoral thesis on which the book is based – Jeffrey L. McNairn argues that in the first fifty years of Upper Canada's existence, a major shift took place. In the beginning, democracy was a dirty word. Government was originally a very private affair involving the opinions of a very few men (later dubbed the "Family Compact"). By the 1830s it had evolved into a far more open, public, deliberative enterprise. The government, which initially took total responsibility *for* the press – controlling its content and suppressing all opposition – was forced to become responsive *to* the press. Radical and conservative opinions clashed in the columns of widely read competing newspapers. Also, as another chapter argues, voluntary associations – lodges, churches, societies – became increasingly important forums of expression. In a sense, Responsible Government meant not simply soliciting electors' votes, but responding to public views.

A related book, *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada 1800–1850*, focuses on somewhat the

same subject – how popular pressure was exerted in the attempt to change government policies. Elections were important, but public petitions were more significant. By the 1820s, many colonials realized that the real power that ruled Upper Canada was not the elected assembly, or even the lieutenant governor and his legislative and executive councils, but the Crown, i.e., the colonial office across the Atlantic in Britain. Would-be reformers proceeded to organize mass meetings, parades, and demonstrations. Petitions were signed by thousands of settlers (yes, many, perhaps most, could read and write) and then carried to London. Some of these campaigns, to the dismay of the Family Compact and other administration admirers, were successful. These, in turn, aroused efforts to rally opposite opinions. By the early 1830s there were riots, assaults, effigy burnings, all part of a numbers game: which side could garner the most signatures? Historian Carol Wilton's research also made extensive use of old newspaper accounts. Her work presents a welcome fresh understanding of the deep divisions that prompted the 1837 Rebellion and the problems in its aftermath.

History professor J. M. Bumsted's latest work, in contrast, considers a different province – Manitoba is his home turf. In *Thomas Scott's Body and Other Essays on Early Manitoba History*, he also quotes old newspapers like the *Nor'-Wester* and the *Manitoba Free Press*, but he researched much more than the press (as, to be sure, did both McNairn and Wilton). His book sheds new light on several aspects of the Red River settlement. Collectively, these essays show how limited has been our knowledge of the events that led to the formation of a province. For all that has been written about Louis Riel, the connections between the original Selkirk settlers and the uprisings fifty years later are far from clear. What is clear is the need to deepen our understanding of the Métis. Be not dismayed, however; several of these essays are good yarns in themselves (one, about a sex scandal and the church, appeared in the April/May 2001 issue of the *Beaver*.) I hope Bumsted will one day use his talents for thorough research *and* popular writing to produce a comprehensive Red River/Manitoba history.

These three books all demonstrate the value of using archival records – newspapers and periodicals, government reports and documents, personal letters and other papers, contemporary publications – especially when the intent is to revise old views of a period or person. A new biography, *Benedict Arnold: A Traitor in Our Midst*, attempts such a revision. Canadian Barry K. Wilson presents a non-American (often anti-American) perspective on the notorious general and his times. Only occasionally, however, does he offer anything fresh – like many journalist-historians, he relies too heavily on the research of others. In fairness, however, Wilson does make use of British and Canadian primary material in two sections: one describing Arnold's siege of Quebec early in the American Revolutionary War, the other tracing his career in New Brunswick after that war (and after he abandoned the American cause). These chapters are worth the book, but the rest is disappointing. Surprisingly, Wilson's reliance on other biographies missed the best one for Arnold's military career: James Kirby Martin's *Benedict Arnold, Revolutionary Hero* (reviewed in the *Beaver* June/July 1999).

One more volume also shows evidence of thorough archival research, *Surplus People*, a study of the Irish Fitzwilliam Clearances. In the course of a decade (1847–1856), nearly a quarter of the residents of County Wicklow were evicted, many of them from Lord Fitzwilliam's estate, Coolattin. More than six thousand men, women, and children were sent away, most to New Brunswick where, they were told, they were needed to construct a new railway. No matter how well intentioned the clearance, and how humane for the most part were the crossing arrangements, the arrivals in Canada were disastrous. The book relates how some families fared in Canada – the gross horrors of Grosse-Île are especially well described – but it also suggests that back in Ireland, things improved because of this reduction in population.

Books Cited

- *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada 1791–1854.*
  By Jeffrey L. McNairn. University of Toronto Press, 2000. $75.00 hardcover.
- *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada 1800–1850.*
  By Carol Wilton. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000. $65.00 cloth; 27.95 paper.
- *Thomas Scott's Body and Other Essays on Early Manitoba History.*
  By J.M. Bumsted. University of Manitoba Press, 2000. $19.95 paper.
- *Benedict Arnold: A Traitor in Our Midst.*
  By Barry K. Wilson. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. $39.95 hardcover.
- *Benedict Arnold, Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered.*
  By James Kirby Martin. New York University Press, 1997. US $34.95 hardcover.
- *Surplus People: The Fitzwilliam Clearances 1847–1856.*
  By Jim Rees. Collins Press (Irish Canadian Cultural Association of New Brunswick, 189 Carlisle Road, Douglas, NB E3A 7M8), 2000. $20.00 paper.

More Books Worth Noting

- *Broken Shackles: Old Man Henson From Slavery to Freedom*
  Edited by Peter Meyler. Natural Heritage Books, 2001. $22.95 paper.
  A republished long-out-of-print collection of the reminiscences of an African-American living in Owen Sound at the turn of the last century.
- *The Canoe: An Illustrated History*
  By Jim Poling. Key Porter, 2000. $29.95 hardcover.
  Canoes, not only in Canada but in much of North America, were central to transportation, exploration, trade, and warfare – a beautifully illustrated romantic reflection.
- *Extraordinary Ordinary Women: Manitoba Women and Their Stories*
  Edited by Colleen Armstrong. Manitoba Clubs of the Canadian Federation of University Women, 2000. $20.00 paper.
  These brief biographies surely show, as the introduction suggests, that the history of Manitoba is "filled with the extraordinary contributions of ordinary women."
- *From the Ghetto to the Main: The Story of the Jews of Montreal*
  By Joe King. Montreal Jewish Publication Society, 2000. $25.00 paper.
  A densely packed, almost encyclopedic volume – Montreal Jews have given much more to their city and to the world than bagels and smoked meat!

continues

- *Gateway City: Stories from Edmonton's Past*
  By Alex Mair. Fifth House, 2000. $16.95 paper.
  Some sixty vignettes of people, places, and incidents in the city's history, all related in a chatty style, true stories, and a few tall stories.

- *The Life and Letters of Lois Sybil Harrington & Edward Winslow-Spragge: Love Family and Travel in Canada, 1908–1950*
  Edited by Anne V. Byers. Euros Publications, 2000. $125.00 hardcover.
  A daughter opens her parents' intimate correspondence (all carefully edited, of course), more than 250 letters, annotated and reproduced with sketches, photos, and facsimiles.

- *Mustard Plasters and Handcars: Through the Eyes of a Red Cross Outpost Nurse*
  By Gertrude LeRoy Miller. Natural Heritage Books, 2000. $21.95 paper.
  The memoirs of a nurse in the Haliburton Highlands, on the staff of the first Red Cross Outpost Hospital in Ontario.

- *Not in the Face of the Enemy: Canadians Awarded the Air Force Cross and Air Force Medal, 1918–1966*
  By Hugh A. Halliday. Robin Brass Studio, 2000. $25.95 paper.
  A fully illustrated compilation of the experiences of the Canadian airmen who won British medals – there were no comparable Canadian medals until the 1970s.

- *On the Road with David Thompson*
  By Joyce and Peter McCart. Fifth House, 2000. $18.95 paper.
  An adventurous couple explain the history as they explore the travel routes of David Thompson – following in his footsteps, but mostly on wheels.

- *Settling the Hills: Historical Reflections of Caledon East and District*
  By Elizabeth Luther. eastendbooks, 2000. $24.95 paper.
  A rather rosy history of a township north of Toronto, recording many memories of the original farming families. Today much of the territory has been taken over by people who move to the country after making their fortunes in the city.

- *Sitting Bull's Boss: Above the Medicine Line with James Morrow Walsh*
  By Ian Anderson. Heritage House, 2000. $17.95 paper.
  The archival pictures make worthwhile an overly imaginative biography of an early Mountie.

- *Special Delivery: Canada's Postal Heritage*
  By Chantal Amyot, Bianca Gendreau, and John Willis. Goose Lane Editions, 2000. $45.00 hardcover.
  A coffee-table tribute to the postal service, based on an exhibit at the Museum of Civilization – lavishly illustrated and entirely uncritical.

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The **Beaver**

The Man Who Would Have Dominion
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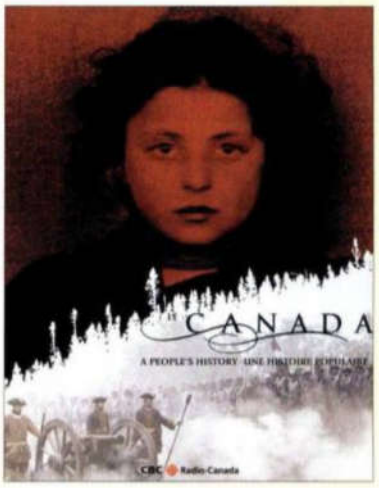
BY KATHLYN FISH

The Great Plains Debate
How a nineteenth-century Prussian nobleman's climate hypothesis shaped the settling of Western Canada. BY MARTIN J. BAILEY

THE Society



2001 Berton Award Announced

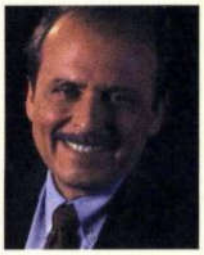
The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation / Radio Canada has been selected as the recipient of the 2001 Pierre Berton Award in recognition of its television documentary series *Canada: A People's History / Une histoire populaire*, the first episodes of which were aired last fall, and which continues beginning this September.

Rarely has Canadian history enjoyed such a national spotlight. The quality of the programming, the size of the audience it attracted, and the related products combined to make the series an outstanding example of the spirit and intent of the Award.

The Pierre Berton Award, named in honour of one of Canada's leading storytellers, was established in 1994 to recognize an individual or institution for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history, that is, broadening the reach of Canada's story. In addition to Mr. Berton, other recipients include James H. Gray (Calgary), Jacques Lacoursiere (Quebec City), the CRB Foundation (Montreal), Bob Johnstone (Toronto), and Peter C. Newman (Vancouver).

The Award consists of a medal, a cheque for $5,000, and a life membership in the Society.

The 2001 Award will be presented by Pierre Berton himself, on Saturday evening, October 20, in Winnipeg, at the gala banquet that will be part of a major national conference on the teaching of history, October 19–21.



From upper left: Eric Jackman, Mark Starowicz, and Bill Waiser

The Board

At the Society's annual meeting held in Winnipeg in June, three new members were elected to the board for three-year terms.

Eric Jackman of Toronto is president of Invicta Investments Incorporated and chairman of the Jackman Foundation. A certified psychologist, he was educated at the Universities of British Columbia, Toronto, and Chicago, where he received his PhD in human development and psychology. Chancellor of the University of Windsor and chairman of the TV Ontario Foundation, he is involved in many educational, community, cultural, and professional organizations and serves on numerous honorary and advisory boards. He was most recently appointed Grand Prior for Canada of the Order of St. Lazarus, the world's oldest chivalric order.

Mark Starowicz of Toronto, head of CBC-TV's documentary programming unit, is the creator and executive producer of *Canada: A People's History*. Educated at McGill University, he has been instrumental in the creation of such news programs as CBC radio's *As It Happens* and *Sunday Morning*, and *The Journal* on CBC-TV. He is a six-time Gemini award winner for best information programming, and the recent recipient of a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Canadian Journalism Foundation. He also owns an extensive collection of original historical newspapers.

Bill Waiser of Saskatoon is professor of history at the University of Saskatchewan and a specialist in western and northern Canadian history. He is the author, coauthor, or coeditor of six books, including *Loyal till Death: Indians and the Northwest Rebellion*, which was a finalist for the Governor General's Literary Award for nonfiction. He served for three years on the council of the Canadian Historical Association and is currently host of a weekly history series on CBC Saskatchewan's early evening news broadcast.

Patricia O'Brien was re-elected to her second three-year term. **Tina Loo**, having served a maximum term on the board, was not eligible for re-election.

Visit our website at <www.historysociety.ca>, where you can shop online, subscribe to *The Beaver*, and learn more about Canada's National History Society.

Canada's National History Society

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Museum Profile

For more than forty years, the **Vancouver Maritime Museum** has been dedicated to preserving the rich maritime history and traditions of the Pacific Coast. Consistently rated by visitors as "well worth a return visit," and recently rated by Frommer's as one of only six attractions in Vancouver worthy of Frommer's star as "highly recommended," the Maritime Museum is a family-oriented, fun place to learn and be inspired.

The Maritime Museum has lots to see and do for visitors of all ages. Permanent exhibits showcase pirates, shipwrecks, lighthouses, the early fur trade, shipbuilding, coastal and transpacific steamship lines, cruise ships, and so much more. There are exhibits on fireboats, warships, and diving and deep-ocean exploration featuring the famous oceanographic submersible, *Ben Franklin*. Visitors to the Maritime Museum can climb onboard the *St. Roch*, Canada's celebrated RCMP Arctic schooner housed ashore.

Created to teach and designed for fun, Alcan's Children's Maritime Discovery Centre helps visitors understand how people respond to and interact with the sea. The museum's education programs, which include community-based outreach events and lectures, instill a sense of adventure and excitement about the maritime world for both school children and the general public.

The museum's summer exhibit VIKINGS: MASTER MARINERS, TRADERS, COLONISTS AND ARTISANS features the remarkable world of seafaring Vikings. A special area is dedicated to children, and a visit to Heritage Harbour reveals an authentic forty-foot (half scale) working replica of the famous Viking ship *Gokstad*.

Vancouver Maritime Museum
1905 Ogden Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. V6J 1A3
For information contact:
Telephone: (604) 257-8300 Fax: (604) 737-2621
Website: <www.vmm.bc.ca>

Museum Discounts Membership in Canada's National History Society provides reduced admission to the following leading Canadian museums:

- Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria
- Vancouver Museum
- Vancouver Maritime Museum
- Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff
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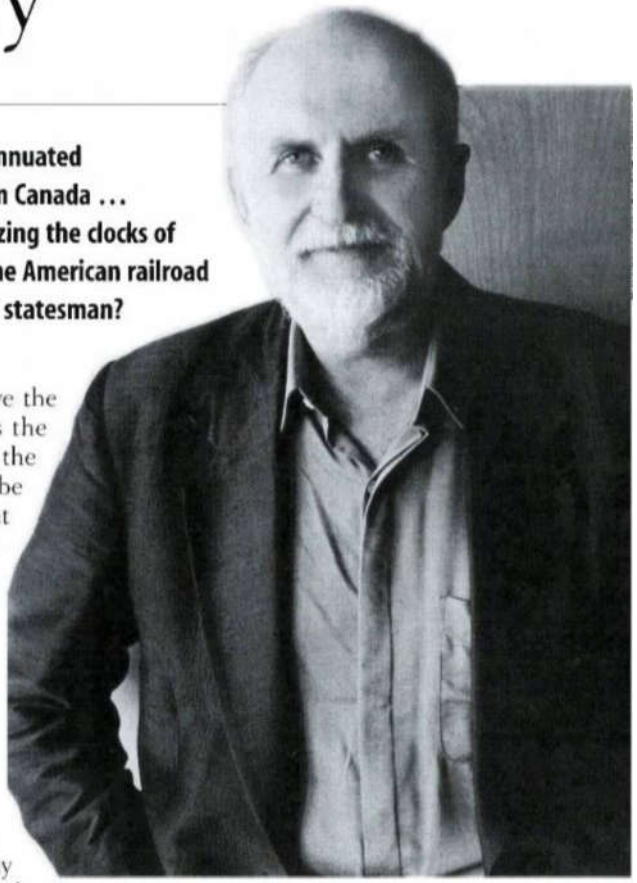
- Saskatchewan Western Development Museum, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, North Battleford, Yorkton
- Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg
- Dalnavert Museum, Winnipeg
- Western Canada Aviation Museum, Winnipeg
- McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal
- Pointe à Callière, Musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal
- Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, QC
- New Brunswick Museum, Saint John
- Yarmouth County Museum, Yarmouth, NS

A discount of at least 10 percent on regular admission will be given upon presentation of your membership card. Some restrictions may apply. All subscribers to the *Beaver* are automatically members of the Society.

CHRISTOPHER **Moore**

Clark Blaise: Time for the Nineteenth Century



Why did Fleming, a superannuated construction engineer from Canada ... get the credit for rationalizing the clocks of the world, rather than some American railroad general or British imperial statesman?

Years ago, an editor I respect said to me while we were musing about book subjects that he did not think there was a single nineteenth-century Canadian whose biography he could successfully publish. The interest just was not there, he thought, and I feared he well might be right.

But this spring, *Time Lord*, Clark Blaise's life of Sandford Fleming, has been published to critical acclaim and a rapid rise up the bestseller charts, even though the man who invented standard time ought to be the very model of unpublishable Victorian Canadian worthiness. Come to think of it, in recent years similar success has greeted subjects as unlikely (at first glance) as Charlotte Gray's life of Mackenzie King's mother. I've recently been reading *Loyal No More*, an analysis of Ontario politics by *Globe and Mail* columnist John Ibbitson in which nineteenth-century premier Oliver Mowat looms larger than Mike Harris, and also *The Laughing One*, Susan Crean's exploration of Emily Carr, a nineteenth-century rebel, although she mostly painted in the twentieth. At the start of the twenty-first century, nineteenth-century life is thriving as never before.

The change, I think, is mostly in the writers. Writing, frankly, has not been much appreciated in Canadian history. Academic writing generally honours methodology over authorship, while for general audiences history has often been considered Important, something good for us. If we swallow enough – or oblige the children to, more often – we might save the country. In this view, it is the subject that mattered, not the writing, which has only to be "lively." (Something of that attitude survives in a recent book-pages ad from publisher Penguin Canada, which promotes two new books as "yawn-free Canadian history," an approach that seems both to denigrate the books and to patronize the audience.)

Clark Blaise, however, is a writer. Long a mainstay of the University of Iowa's celebrated school of writers, he's a respected author of novels and stories, mostly about his tangled, Canadians-in-the-United-States milieu. "My mother always talked about her family and background, and my father never said a word about his, so I ended up writing the stories my father never told me." Even his nonfiction has mostly taken subjects close to his own life experience. What led Clark Blaise to decide on a nineteenth-century biography?

"Well, it was more the case of the book deciding on me," Blaise told me recently. Something about one fifty-seven-year-old Canadian speaking to another. Something about Sandford Fleming reminding Blaise of his grandfather in Wawanesa, Manitoba. Above all, something about the challenging, absorbing themes of time and space and modernity into which Fleming and standard time carried Blaise.

Blaise likes Sandford Fleming, enjoys his big, hearty, Victorian science-can-do-anything attitude, and admires his high standards, his restless energy,

and his diverse interests. He credits Fleming with rather too much, perhaps – I was bemused to read that Fleming "more than nearly anyone" produced Canadian confederation – and he skips many aspects of his long career.

For this book is mostly about time and Sandford Fleming's role in bringing into being a new way of living in time. *Time Lord* is wonderful on the crazy world pre-standard time, when every town had its own time and three railroads in a single city could set their clocks and departures to three different times. It's wonderful on the way Fleming missed a train one day and responded by the idea of standard time. (A guidebook typo, more than a conflict in time-setting, was the cause, but inspiration is where you find it.)

By the 1860s, railroads and telegraphs were smashing traditional times and distances. "Time was in the air." In 1884, an international conference "globalized" time, settling on twenty-four time zones, the International Date Line, and other features that still organize our timekeeping and time-changing. But why did Fleming, a superannuated construction engineer from Canada seconded to the British delegation to the conference, get the credit for rationalizing the clocks of the world, rather than some American railroad general or British imperial statesman?

Fleming, says Blaise, "was the one who was out there with a global vision. The others mostly confined themselves to North America and to North American railways. Fleming dealt with the Greenwich meridian problem, with all the great international political and scientific issues. And he had the scientific and political connections too. ... So his success was political, was networking, was social – his was by far the most theoretical approach to the problem." Fleming was so international in his thinking, in fact, that several of his proposals were overridden, as when he sought to finesse away the too-British Greenwich meridian. Despite the details, he was remembered for the big idea.

Blaise, launching from Fleming, soars outward to all the ways the mechanical, orderly kind of time Fleming led the world into helped define the modern world. He considers how Einstein, Freud, the French engineer-impressionist Gustave Caillebotte, and Ernest Hemingway all in their way stopped time, breaking it into shards and moments and examining what lay beneath in a way characteristic of modern art and modern science.

Had Blaise the novelist considered a Sandford Fleming novel, I wondered? "If I were to read a lot more, I could work up a setting for a novel set in that period, I think. But, in a way, Fleming and the people of his time were so articulate, so outspoken, so *virtuous*, that they did not leave much room for the imagination."

But Blaise has noticed how nineteenth-century Canada has become inspiration for novelists as much as historians. "There are so many gaps to be filled in our Canadian Victorian situation. It's similar with Australian writers turning to their nineteenth century. They had always been told there was nothing important there, just bush and aborigines, and anything that was there of history was shameful. Now they are learning their own myths again, as in Peter Carey's new novel about Ned Kelly. ... I think here too these archetypes will gradually be turned into interesting and compelling stories."

Canadian writing already provides examples of writers as resourceful as Margaret Atwood, Guy Vanderhaeghe, and Jane Urquhart responding to that ambition. Readers appreciative of good writing have gladly followed them. But for the kind of meditative exploration of the past and the ambiguous, ever-shifting legacies it leaves, nonfiction may well free the speculative, questioning, debating voice in ways that the invented certainties of fiction rarely do. Blaise made the right choice.

Time Lord is a good book by an interesting and imaginative writer. It is also a straw in the wind, I suspect. The taboo against nineteenth-century biography, if there was one, is being broken not by sermons on the importance of Canadian history or by lame promises not to be boring. No matter what the ostensible subject, what is drawing readers even into odd and obscure corners of past experience is writing, nonfiction and fiction both, that resonates and interests.

Time Lord: The Remarkable Canadian Who Missed His Train and Changed the World by Clark Blaise, was published by Knopf Canada in spring 2001.

The Pierre Berton Award

Canada's National History Society established an award in 1994 for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history. Canadian writer and popular author, Pierre Berton, was the first recipient. Mr. Berton agreed to having his name associated with the award in subsequent years.

In addition to Mr. Berton, other recipients of the Award are:

James H. Gray, Calgary, 1995
Jacques Lacoursière, Quebec City, 1996
The CRB Foundation, Montreal, 1997
Bob Johnstone, Toronto, 1998
(no award 1999)
Peter C. Newman, British Columbia, 2000
CBC / Radio Canada, 2001

Individuals or organizations that have helped popularize Canadian history, through such means as publications, film, radio and television, theatre or volunteer service may be nominated.

Nominations are now being accepted for the 2002 Pierre Berton Award. In addition to a name and address of the nominee, nominations must be accompanied by detailed information in support of the candidate. A biography or curriculum vitae, newspaper or magazine articles, or letters of support outlining the achievements of the nominee would be welcome.

Nominations for the 2002 Pierre Berton Award must be received by May 24, 2002 and should be sent to:

The Pierre Berton Award
Canada's National History Society

478 – 167 Lombard Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0T6

If you require further information on the Award, please contact the Society at the above address, or

Phone (204) 988-9300
Fax (204) 988-9309
E-mail: cnhs@historysociety.ca

Album

Katherine Ferguson, who submitted this photograph to the *Beaver*, is the daughter of May (Osler) Inkster. She lives in Ottawa and marvels, as do we, how these women managed train travel with such incredible hats.

Suffragettes The tent is pitched at Salt Lake City. The women, most of them recent delegates to the 1909 convention of the International Council of Women in Toronto, and most of them from Europe and Canada, are having a picnic. It's a refreshing change from the usual formal receptions that have greeted them in city after city during their post-convention train trip west to Vancouver, then back east through the United States. Some – at least those who remembered to bring a bathing costume – have even been for a swim in the buoyant waters of Utah's Great Salt Lake. May Osler is one of them. She's twenty years old, a resident of Cobourg, Ontario, and she wasn't a delegate to the Toronto convention. But she had recently joined the Cobourg Historical Society, which was an affiliate of the National Council of Women in Canada, which, in turn, was host to the International Council of Women. And a family friend was secretary of the NCWC. Well, connections help. In 1915, in London, England, she will prevail upon her cousin, physician Sir William Osler, to help her through the wartime bureaucracy so that she can marry her Scottish-born sweetheart Fred Inkster. But that's another story. In 1909 she has the privilege of travelling with those who are in the vanguard of the fight for the rights of women. "All of them brainy," declares *The Denver Post*, who, like much of the establishment press recording the transcontinental progress, is somewhat flummoxed by a trainload of suffragettes. May will chronicle the event with her camera and recall the adventure for her three children, who will again revisit it after her death in 1981 when they come across her pictures. As an Osler woman, May was, we are reassured, already strong-minded and independent. But travelling that summer in such august female company must have been reinforcing.

Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in our country's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied at your local photo shop (please don't send priceless originals) and send it to: Album, c/o *The Beaver*, #478 – 167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your copy returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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EASTERN	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
7:00 AM 7:30 AM	GREAT TRAIN STORIES					THE BEST OF CANADA	THE BEST OF CANADA
8:00 AM 8:30 AM	IT SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY THE WAY WE WERE						
9:00 AM 9:30 AM 10:00 AM 10:30 AM	SKETCHES OF OUR TOWN HISTORY BITES A SCATTERING OF SEEDS HISTORYLANDS					CANADIAN HISTORY	THE 20TH CENTURY
11:00 AM 11:30 AM 12:00 PM 12:30 PM	THE UNTOUCHABLES GREAT TRAIN STORIES					ANCIENT HISTORY	HISTORY OF WAR
1:00 PM 1:30 PM 2:00 PM 2:30 PM 3:00 PM	HISTORY ON FILM					DOC SERIES (NON-WAR)	DOC SERIES (WAR)
3:30 PM	HISTORY BITES					WESTERN MATINEE	HISTORY ON FILM
4:00 PM 4:30 PM	DESTINATION: HISTORY						
5:00 PM 5:30 PM	COMBAT					DRAMA	DOC SERIES (WAR)
6:00 PM 6:30 PM	GREAT TRAIN STORIES					BEST OF BRITISH HISTORY	THE CANADIANS
7:00 PM 7:30 PM	TOUR OF DUTY					THE CANADIANS	THE BEST OF THE NEW
8:00 PM	PEOPLE'S CENTURY					A SCATTERING OF SEEDS	THE BEST OF THE NEW
8:30 PM						HISTORYLANDS	
9:00 PM 9:30 PM 10:00 PM 10:30 PM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAYS	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
11:00 PM 11:30 PM	TOUR OF DUTY						
12:00 AM 12:30 AM 1:00 AM 1:30 AM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAYS	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
2:00 AM 2:30 AM	TOUR OF DUTY						
3:00 AM 3:30 AM	A CENTURY OF CONFLICT					BEST OF BRITISH HISTORY	THE BEST OF THE NEW
4:00 AM 4:30 AM	PEOPLE'S CENTURY					WESTERN MOVIE	THE BEST OF THE NEW
5:00 AM 5:30 AM	COMBAT						DOC SERIES (WAR)
6:00 AM 6:30 AM	A CENTURY OF CONFLICT						CABLE IN THE CLASSROOM

Programming to change as of September 3, 2001.